PR 3724.G7 1926
Gulliver's tr cen
3 0081 001 307 747

In memory of

DONALD J. KERNOHAN

Teaching Fellow
Vanderbilt English Dept.

Gift of

GRADUATE ENGLISH CLUB
Vanderbilt University

Central Library
JOINT UNIVERSITY
LIBRARIES
NASHVILLE TENNESSEE

PR 521258
3724
.G7
1926

JUL-0257

DATE DUE

22 JUN 1984			
JUN 28 1984			
RETURNED			
APR 14 1990			
MAY 08 2002			
RET'D APR 24 2002			
JAN 16 2008			
RET'D DEC 26 2007			

DEMCO NO. 38-298

Gulliver's Travels

Sturt ex. Sheppard Sc.

Captain Lemuel Gulliver, of
Redriff Ætat. suæ 58.

Gulliver's Travels

BY

JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D.

The Text of the FIRST EDITION
Edited, with an Introduction,
Bibliography and Notes, by
HAROLD WILLIAMS

LONDON
FIRST EDITION CLUB
1926

Printed in England by JOHN JOHNSON
at the University Press, Oxford

JOINT UNIVERSITY
LIBRARIES
NASHVILLE, TENN.

PR
3724
.G7
1726

PREFACE

THE first edition of *Gulliver's Travels* appeared two hundred years ago, in 1726. There is therefore a fitness in, and perhaps an interest added to, this edition of 1926, which is printed from a copy of the original edition published by Benjamin Motte. In this respect it differs from the numberless editions which have appeared since the first, including that of Professor Henry Morley (Carisbrooke Library), which, although it professed to be 'exactly reprinted from the first edition', was actually printed from a copy of the second edition. It differs also from the later Motte editions in that it avoids their numerous minor variations from the first edition; it differs from Motte's fourth octavo, from the Faulkner and Bathurst editions, and the great company in varying degrees of faithfulness founded upon these, in reserving Ford's corrections and restorations for Appendixes. As nearly as may be, including irregularities of spelling, punctuation, capitalization, the use of roman or italic type, and other peculiarities, this edition reproduces the text in which the first readers, at the end of October and beginning of November 1726, followed the account of Captain Lemuel Gulliver's travels. This edition is not, however, a facsimile, and dislocations of type, or other typographical blemishes, are not reproduced.

Motte's first edition contained not only printers'

errors, but some extensive departures from the author's manuscript. These are discussed in the Introduction and tabulated in two Appendixes. I have, further, devoted some space to a consideration of Faulkner's Dublin edition; and given reason for believing that the attempts of Hawkesworth and other editors to discredit Faulkner fall to the ground. The Faulkner–Hawkesworth controversy forms an important chapter in the early story of *Gulliver's Travels*; and the Dublin printer can claim a victory in so far as many of his readings were appropriated without acknowledgement by Hawkesworth, to continue their appearance in a large number of the editions published since that time. I have drawn attention in the Notes to the more important of the variants printed for the first time in Faulkner's edition of 1735.

No modern edition can hope to reproduce the exact text of the manuscript secretly committed to Motte. Our nearest approximation is the printed page of the first edition, supplemented by Ford's corrections and restitutions. And if, as seems most probable, the additional corrections and modifications of Faulkner's edition are, in some degree at least, attributable to Swift himself—these were an afterthought. They have the interest of an authoritative revision, not that of the original text.

The collations of early editions of *Gulliver's Travels*, accompanied by brief notes, textual and bibliographical, are more complete than any hitherto published. They are designed to show not only the form and typographical arrangement of each edition, but also to indicate the textual relationship to each other of these editions, whether issued by Motte, piratical booksellers, Faulkner, or Bathurst. In the case of the many Bathurst editions, prior to that edited by Sheridan in 1784, a line has been drawn at the Hawkesworth quarto of 1755, which claimed, without sufficient justification, to present a text critically established. No more than a list is given of the later Bathurst editions. The colla-

tions of the Faulkner editions have been carried to 1759 and 1772—a conclusion of the Faulkner–Hawkesworth controversy between the first protagonists.

While Faulkner was publishing in Dublin, and Bathurst in London, hardly more than half a dozen further editions appear to have been issued by other printers or booksellers. These have no independent value.

My indebtedness to previous editors, annotators, and critics of Swift and his immortal *Travels* is large, and is fully acknowledged at every suitable opportunity in the Introduction, the foot-notes, and the general Notes upon the text. To Mr. G. Ravenscroft Dennis my thanks are due not only for the valuable introduction to his edition of *Gulliver's Travels*, but for his ready response to several questions addressed to him. It would be impossible to overstate my debt to Dr. Lucius L. Hubbard of Houghton, Michigan. The publication of his *Contributions towards a Bibliography of Gulliver's Travels* anticipated results which I had reached, or conclusions I was approaching, by an independent but parallel pathway. I acknowledge all that I owe to his printed page, and not less the sincere gratitude I feel for his unfailing courtesy and untiring patience as an invaluable correspondent while this book was in progress. My thanks are also due to Professor William Warner Bishop, of the University of Michigan, for furnishing me with information relative to editions of *Gulliver's Travels* contained in the Hubbard Collection of the General Library of the University.

I am most grateful to Mr. D. Nichol Smith for generously permitting me to make use of extracts from three unpublished letters of Swift to Charles Ford. These extracts were previously cited by Sir Charles Firth in his paper on ' The Political Significance of Gulliver's Travels '. Further acknowledgement of this kindness is made in a foot-note to page xx. I have also to thank Mr. Nichol Smith for assistance he has given me.

PREFACE

I have received from Dr. R. B. McKerrow and Mr. A. W. Pollard bibliographical hints and suggestions which have not, I hope, been wasted. Sir George Fordham has kindly given me information relative to the cartographical publications of Nicolas Sanson and other matters.

I have to thank, in general, the staff and attendants of the Forster Library, South Kensington, of the British Museum, of the University Library, Cambridge, of the Bodleian Library, and of the Guildhall Library, for affording me facilities to consult and collate many volumes in their respective collections. Mr. J. Hanna of Trinity College Library, Dublin, and Mr. J. Carter of the King's Inns Library, Dublin, have been at pains to answer questions addressed to them.

Lastly, I must acknowledge the kindness of Messrs. George Bell & Sons in allowing me to draw largely upon Dr. Elrington Ball's edition of Swift's *Correspondence*.

HAROLD WILLIAMS.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION PAGE

1. The Writing of *Gulliver's Travels* . xiii
2. Publication xxiii
3. Contemporary reception . . xxvii
4. Motte's Edition and Swift's complaints xxxi
5. Ford's Corrections . . . xxxiv
6. Faulkner's Text . . . xxxviii
7. Early Editions of *Gulliver's Travels* . l
8. The Three Motte Editions of 1726 . lii
9. Later Motte Editions . . . lv
10. Priority and sequence of the Motte Editions lvi
11. The First Edition . . . lix
12. The Second Edition . . . lxii
13. The Third Edition . . . lxxiii
14. Fourth Octavo Edition . . lxxv
15. Motte's Duodecimo Edition . . lxxvii
16. The Maps lxxix
17. Other Early Editions . . . lxxx
18. Faulkner and Bathurst . . lxxxi

COLLATIONS AND NOTES . . lxxxiii

CONTENTS

THE TRAVELS PAGE

Part I. A Voyage to Lilliput . . 1
II. A Voyage to Brobdingnag . 101
III. A Voyage to Laputa, Balnibarbi, Luggnagg, Glubbdubdrib, and Japan . . . 203
IV. A Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms . . . 303

APPENDIXES

I. Ford's List of Errata, 3 January 1726[7] 423
II. Ford's Corrections in his copy of *Gulliver's Travels* . . . 432

NOTES 459

LIST OF FACSIMILES

1. Portrait of Gulliver . . *Frontispiece*
2. General title to Vol. I . . . 1
3. Separate title to Part I . . . 7
4. Map to Part I (Lilliput) . . . 12
5. Separate title to Part II . . . 101
6. Map to Part II (Brobdingnag) . . 106
7. General title to Parts III and IV (i.e. Vol. II) 203
8. Map to Part III (Laputa) . . . 208
9. Figure to show movement of Flying Island 232
10. Figure of Word Machine . . . 252
11. Separate title to Part IV . . . 303
12. Map to Part IV (Houyhnhnmland) . 310

INTRODUCTION

fall of the Tory Administration, Swift returned to Ireland and the Deanery of which he had taken possession rather more than a year earlier. In 1726, after an absence of twelve years, and carrying the manuscript of *Gulliver's Travels*, he saw London and his English friends again. The first six years of Swift's exile, if we look for anything from his pen, show little more than an uninterrupted blank. Then, and by a sudden impulse of patriotic fervour for the country which he never ceased to dislike, he came out into the open with a series of pamphlets contesting the rights of Ireland against English maladministration. Once again drawn into the whirlpool of public affairs, he awoke from the intellectual apathy into which he had been content to subside. His letters to his friends become more frequent; and in his correspondence we come upon the first references to the ' Travels ' which he had in hand.

The general motive and character of the book Swift carried with him from England. At the height of his power there were hours when he wearied of politics and attendance upon ministerial intrigue. His chief recourse was then the letters to Stella and Mrs. Dingley, or the writing of literary trifles. In 1711 a small dining society of wits and men of quality was formed, consisting largely of Swift's political associates. This society developed into the Scriblerus Club with a more literary membership, numbering Pope, Swift, Arbuthnot, Gay, and Parnell as an occasional visitor. In 1714 Pope suggested to the club a joint satire on pedantry cast in the form of memoirs of a fictitious Martinus Scriblerus.[1] Before the project could be carried far, how-

[1] The fragmentary *Memoirs of the Extraordinary Life, Works and Dis-*

ever, the downfall of the Tory party scattered the members of a club which is chiefly memorable, not for anything 'that proceeded directly from this ineffective partnership of wit, but in the isolated efforts of the two greatest of the group—in *Gulliver's Travels* and the *Dunciad*'.[1] The contribution which Swift intended as his share in the satirical memoirs was the germ of *Gulliver's Travels*, for which, even long before the formation of the Scriblerus Club, he had unconsciously been preparing himself. Tales of travel and discovery were always favourite reading with him. In the list of books, for example, read by Swift in 1697 and the beginning of 1698, at Moor Park, appear the *Voyage de Syam*, the *Histoire d'Æthiopie*, and the *Voyage de Maroc*.

The break, almost complete, in Swift's literary activity, during the early years of his residence as Dean of St. Patrick's, has led to the supposition that *Gulliver's Travels* was written during this period, and 'completed, in something like its present shape, in 1720'.[2]

coveries of Martinus Scriblerus, consisting of the first book only, was published in Dublin, by Faulkner, in 1741. In the form in which we have the *Memoirs* they are attributable to Pope and Arbuthnot, probably largely to Arbuthnot; and may have been written before Swift left London in 1714. In that year Arbuthnot, writing to Swift (*Corresp.* ii. 158–60), throws out suggestions for a continuation with a 'ridicule of medicine'. Ch. xvi of the *Memoirs* refers to Martin's voyage to 'the ancient *Pygmaean* Empire', his shipwreck 'on the Land of the *Giants*', and his discovery of 'a whole Kingdom of *Philosophers*, who govern by *Mathematicks*'. Sir Charles Firth ('The Political Significance of Gulliver's Travels', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. ix. Also separately reprinted) draws attention to Pope's statement, reported by Spence (*Anecdotes, Observations and Characters*, ed. S. W. Singer, 1820, p. 10): 'It was from a part of those memoirs that Dr. Swift took his first hints for *Gulliver*. There were pigmies in Schreibler's *Travels*; and the projects of Laputa.'

[1] *Life of Jonathan Swift.* Sir Henry Craik. 2nd ed., 1894, i. 362.

[2] Craik, *op. cit.* ii. 18 n.

INTRODUCTION

It has been suggested that Swift deliberately offers us a clue towards the end of the eleventh chapter of the Voyage to the Houyhnhnms. On his final return to England Gulliver casts anchor in the Downs on 5 December 1715, and a little more than a page later remarks: 'At the time I am writing it is five years since my last return to England.' Mr. Ravenscroft Dennis reads this as an indication that the writing of the *Travels* 'was begun about 1720';[1] but, if any hint be intended, the more natural inference is that the work was nearing completion at that date.[2] No deduction drawn from Gulliver's reference to 'the time I am writing' can, however, be allowed to outweigh the combined effect of internal and external evidence, which gives little ground for the belief that anything approximating to a first draft of *Gulliver's Travels*, in however fragmentary a form, could have been in existence as early as 1720. The whole work is clearly not of one piece. It is possible, even probable, that detached passages or chapters were sketched or jotted down before 1720, but many of the references to passing events and public personages show that Swift's satire is directed towards the history of the years 1720 to 1725.

[1] *Gulliver's Travels* (vol. viii of *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Temple Scott), ed. by G. Ravenscroft Dennis, Introduction, p. xi.

[2] See Deane Swift, *Essay on the Life and Character of Dr. Swift*, 1755, pp. 278-81, who was of opinion that Swift began to write *Gulliver's Travels* about the end of 1715, 'and compleated that work, corrections, amendments and the like only excepted, in the winter of the year 1720'. Delany, on the contrary (*Observations upon Lord Orrery's Remarks*, 1754, p. 100), was convinced that no part of Swift's time, during the early years at the Deanery, was occupied with the composition of the *Travels*. He weakens his credit, however, in supporting his contention by a reference to the letter of 2 Apr. 1727, which was first prefixed to Faulkner's edition of 1735—a letter which was intended to mystify.

The Voyages to Lilliput and Laputa in several respects stand in marked contrast to the Voyages to Brobdingnag and the country of the Houyhnhnms. Their narrative is less uniform, they are more closely related to the original design of *Martinus Scriblerus*, the political references are far more numerous, and the point of view is different. The unequal and disjointed handling of the story in Part III is obvious; and its general inferiority aroused comment from the first. Part I also betrays the marks of recasting and interpolation. Swift began to write in an easy mood, perhaps thinking of little more than wiling away the hours on a literary trifle; later he grew to be in earnest, to lean upon his elbow, to borrow his own phrase, and to convert his romantic voyage more definitely into a satire upon social and ecclesiastical polity. The sixth chapter, moreover, of the Voyage to Lilliput bears every indication of being an afterthought. Here Swift abandons the method of satirical parallels for the exposition of his own thoughts.[1]

A close reading of Parts I and III reveals the presence of earlier and later portions which have been welded or, more especially in Part III, roughly linked together. And, further, the references to contemporary events and persons show that an early beginning was followed, after several years, by a process of extension and recasting, which left little of the original design except the framework. References to events which happened before 1720 are most frequent in the Voyage to Lilliput. Thus we have a reference to the Peace of Utrecht (1713), possibly to Nottingham (under the character of Bolgolam) who attacked Swift

[1] Cf. *A Critical Study of Gulliver's Travels*. W. A. Eddy. 1923, pp. 111–12, 146–7.

bitterly in 1714, to the flight of Bolingbroke (1715), to the Committee appointed by Walpole to investigate Jacobite intrigues (1715), to the King's professions of mercy after the rebellion of 1715. In Part III satirical comments upon earlier events are less easy to trace, but Sir Charles Firth finds 'a direct reference to a celebrated divorce case which occurred in 1713'.[1] The general character of the satire in these two Voyages is, however, chiefly governed by events following upon 1720, or developing from the new situation in English politics consequent upon the accession of the House of Hanover. The Emperor of Lilliput is invested with several characteristics of George I, and the representation of his relationship to his son and to political and ecclesiastical intrigue is easily recognizable as a picture of the Prince of Wales's opposition to his father. Flimnap was probably a satire on Walpole, and the King's cushion, which broke his fall, was the Duchess of Kendal, through whose interest he was restored to power (1721). In the account of the coloured silks there is a reference to the revival of the Order of the Bath (1725). In Part III there are many contemporary references to events following upon 1720, including the disasters incident to the South Sea Bubble (1720), the trial of Atterbury (1722), the controversy over Wood's halfpence (1722–5).

In contrast with the other two Voyages Parts II and IV contain but little definite reference to contemporary history; the satire is general rather than particular, directed to institutions and social characteristics, not to events and persons. In the Voyages to

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 16, 17; also *The Review of English Studies*, ii. 340. See *Gulliver's Travels*, Part III, ch. ii.

Lilliput and Laputa, further, Gulliver is the curious traveller, observing and reporting strange peoples and customs; in the Voyages to Brobdingnag and the Houyhnhnms the position is reversed—Gulliver, the representative of normal man, is an object of criticism by those belonging to a superior civilization. Parts II and IV, in addition, have all the appearance of having been conceived and written at one and the same time. The narrative is consistent, consecutive, and of a single texture.

Internal evidence, therefore, leads to the conviction that parts of the first and third Voyages, probably not a very considerable proportion of the whole, were composed in some form soon after Swift came into residence as Dean of St. Patrick's, and then laid aside. Later, beginning about 1720, to judge by the contemporary references of the narrative, he took up his imaginary *Travels*, altering the earlier fragments and embodying them in the later whole.

Swift's correspondence confirms the internal evidence of his book. There is nothing in his letters between 1714 and 1720 to indicate that he was occupied with writing any part of the *Travels*; but in the years immediately succeeding references to the work, either on the part of Swift or his friends, grow increasingly frequent. On 15 April 1721, writing from Dublin to Charles Ford, Swift says: 'I am now writing a History of my Travells, which will be a large Volume, and gives accounts of Countryes hitherto unknown; but they go on slowly for want of Health and Humor.'[1] A letter from Bolingbroke, dated 1 January

[1] The letter from which this excerpt is taken and the two letters to Ford of 19 Jan. 1723/4 and 14 Aug. 1725 belong to a private collection

1721/2, shows that he had received a hint of the work before the beginning of the next year. 'I long', he writes, 'to see your Travels.'[1] An undated letter[2] from Hester Vanhomrigh shows clearly that she had seen a manuscript containing the account of Gulliver's misadventure with the monkey in Brobdingnag. And another sentence in the same letter, in which she describes the company she met at the house of a 'great lady', implies, but not decisively, that the Voyage to the Houyhnhnms had been seen by her in some form. She writes: 'Their forms and gestures were very like those of baboons and monkeys; they all grinned and chattered at the same time, and that of things I did not understand.'[3] On 19 January 1723/4 Swift wrote to Ford: 'I have left the Country of Horses, and am in the flying Island, where I shall not stay long, and my two last Journyes will be soon over.' In September 1724,[4] and in July 1725, Bolingbroke again refers to the 'Travels', in the second instance with a specific mention of 'those countries of giants and pigmies'.[5] In the latter year interest in the book and its progress had become common property with Swift's intimate friends. Arbuthnot and Pope had both heard much of it, and Swift refers to it, writing to the latter, to Ford, and to Sheridan.

hitherto unprinted. I am greatly indebted to Mr. D. Nichol Smith, who is editing the collection for publication by the Clarendon Press, for furnishing me with the extracts and allowing me to make use of them. They were previously cited by Sir Charles Firth in his paper on 'The Political Significance of Gulliver's Travels'.

[1] *Corresp.* iii. 113.

[2] This letter has generally been assigned to the year 1720, but Dr. Elrington Ball (*Corresp.* iii. 131 n.) suggests June 1722; and it certainly bears the appearance of being a reply to Swift's letter written from Clogher, dated 1 June 1722.

[3] *Corresp.* iii. 133. [4] *Ibid.* 210. [5] *Ibid.* 259.

Meanwhile his friends continued to urge upon him a visit to England, and Swift, probably not without curiosity to see how his fortunes now lay in that country, gradually came to a resolution, and, at the same time, set himself more actively to bring his manuscript to order, that he might carry it to an English printer. Between April and October 1725 he retired from Dublin to Sheridan's house at Quilca,[1] and, probably from that place, he writes on 14 August to inform Ford that: 'I have finished my Travells, and I am now transcribing them; they are admirable Things, and will wonderfully mend the World.' In the following month he writes to Pope: 'I have employed my time, besides ditching, in finishing, correcting, amending, and transcribing my Travels in four parts complete, newly augmented and intended for the press, when the world shall deserve them, or rather when a printer shall be found brave enough to venture his ears.'[2]

Internal and external evidence combine, therefore, to prove that, whatever fragmentary passages of *Gulliver's Travels* may have been written before 1720, the real composition of the work began in that year, or in 1721. In 1725 Swift, as we have seen, spent the summer and autumn of a country holiday in revising and transcribing his draft for the press; and about six months later he was in London, carrying the manuscript with him.

[1] At Quilca, a village about seven miles from Kells, Dr. Thomas Sheridan owned a small and lonely country retreat, which Swift used on more than one occasion.

[2] *Corresp.* iii. 276.

2. PUBLICATION

In March 1726 Swift arrived in London. He came with three objectives—to visit friends from whom he had been parted for many years, he carried with him a fair copy of *Gulliver's Travels*, and doubtless also he intended an interview with Walpole. His letters leave no doubt or suspicion of his frame of mind during these months. If he was determined to yield nothing of his independence, he was not unwilling, on honourable terms, to make his peace with the political powers of the day. There was every likelihood that passages of his new book might give offence to those in authority, and, so long as his position remained insecure, it was needless to imperil the future. It is doubtful, indeed, whether, apart from this consideration, he had ever any intention of printing his name on the title-page. He loved a mystery, and few men who have lived long in the public eye have practised the art of concealment more adroitly. Among Swift's intimate friends there had never been any secret of the authorship of the 'Travels'; but, even after publication, Pope and Gay are ready to humour him with a pretended ignorance. It has also been suggested that Swift, doubting the decay of his powers with increasing age, withheld his name from a 'literary bashfulness'.[1] But there is little, if anything, to support this theory; and it must be remembered that those for whose opinion he cared were all in the secret.

Three or four months must have passed, from the date of Swift's arrival in England, before definite steps were taken to secure publication of the book. The

[1] Craik, *op. cit.* ii. 119.

manuscript was then entrusted to Pope, who was a man of business, and knew how to deal with publishers. This appears definitely, apart from other clues, from a letter of later years written by Swift to William Pulteney, in which he confesses: 'I never got a farthing by anything I writ, except one about eight years ago, and that was by Mr. Pope's prudent management for me.'[1] Erasmus Lewis was, however, employed to negotiate directly and receive money on Swift's behalf.[2] The first step was a letter addressed to Benjamin Motte, the publisher, dated 'London, August 8, 1726', purporting to be written by 'Richard Sympson', a cousin of 'Mr. Lemuel Gulliver'. The letter was clearly composed by Swift himself.

'SIR,

'My cousin, Mr. Lemuel Gulliver, entrusted me some time ago with a copy of his Travels, whereof that which I here send you is about a fourth part, for I shortened them very much, as you will find in my Preface to the Reader. I have shown them to several persons of great judgment and distinction, who are confident they will sell very well; and although some parts of this and the following volumes may be thought in one or two places to be a little satirical, yet it is agreed they will give no offence; but in that you must judge for yourself, and take the advice of your friends, and if they or you be of another opinion, you may let me know it when you return these papers, which I expect shall be in three days at furthest. The good report I have received of you makes me put so great a trust into your hands, which I hope you will give me no reason to repent, and in that confidence I require that you will never suffer these papers to be once out of your sight.

'As the printing these Travels will probably be of great value to you, so, as a manager for my friend and cousin, I expect you

[1] 12 May 1735. *Corresp.* v. 180.

[2] See *Corresp.* iii. 386 and Swift to Pope, 6 Feb. 1729/30, *Corresp.* iv. 121. Erasmus Lewis, 1670–1754, represented Lostwithiel in Parliament. He was secretary to Lord Dartmouth, and afterwards to Harley. He is mentioned in the highest terms by both Swift and Gay.

will give a due consideration for it, because I know the author intends the profit for the use of poor seamen, and I am advised to say, that two hundred pounds is the least sum I will receive on his account; but if it shall happen that the sale will not answer as I expect and believe, then whatever shall be thought too much, even upon your own word, shall be duly repaid.

'Perhaps you may think this a strange way of proceeding to a man of trade, but since I begin with so great a trust to you whom I never saw, I think it is not hard that you should trust me as much; therefore if, after three days reading and consulting these papers, you think it proper to stand to my agreement, you may begin to print them and the subsequent parts shall be sent you, one after another, in less than a week, provided that immediately upon your resolution to print them, you do within three days, deliver a bank-bill of two hundred pounds, wrapped up so as to make a parcel, to the hand from whence you receive this, who will come in the same manner exactly at nine o'clock on Thursday, which will be the 11th instant.

'If you do not approve of this proposal, deliver these papers to the person who will come on Thursday. If you choose rather to send the papers, make no other proposal of your own, but just barely write on a piece of paper that you do not accept my offer.' [1]

To this Motte replied, probably on August 11th, that in vacation time, 'the most dead season of the year', it was impossible for him to put down 'so considerable a sum as £200'; but he offered to enter into a security for the payment in six months.[2]

On August 13th 'R. Sympson' again writes to Motte: 'I would have both volumes come out together and published by Christmas at farthest.' [3]

In another undated letter, which, as Swift left for Ireland on the 15th, was probably written on the 13th or 14th, Motte says: 'The book shall be published

[1] *Corresp.* iii. 328, 329. [2] *Ibid.* 330.

[3] Mr. G. Ravenscroft Dennis, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xiv, prints this fragment as a postscript to the first letter to Motte; but the date, and the allusion to 'both volumes', clearly point to it as a reply. See Dr. Elrington Ball's note, *Corresp.* iii. 331.

within a month after I receive the copy, and, if the success will allow it, I will punctually pay the money you require in six months. I shall thankfully embrace the offer.

'The bearer stays for an answer, so that I can only offer a proposal without assigning a reason.' [1]

Motte's promise to publish within a given time, like the promise of many a publisher before and since, was not redeemed; and Swift apparently grew impatient, for we find Gay writing to him on October 22nd:

'Before I say one word to you, give me leave to say something of the other gentleman's affair. The letter was sent,[2] and the answer was, that everything was finished and concluded according to orders, and that it would be publicly known to be so in a very few days.' [3]

Six days later, on 28 October 1726, the following advertisement appeared in *The Daily Journal*:

'*This Day is Published*

Travels into several remote Nations of the World. By LEMUEL GULLIVER, first a Surgeon, afterwards Captain of several Ships. In Two Volumes.

Compositum jus, fasque animi, sanctosque recessus
Mentis, & incoctum generoso pectus honesto.

Printed for BENJ. MOTTE, at the Middle Temple Gate, Fleet-street.

N,B. There are a few Printed on a Royal Paper.' [4]

[1] *Corresp.* iii. 331.

[2] Presumably a letter from Swift in Sympson's name.

[3] *Corresp.* iii. 351.

[4] Credit for this discovery is due to the researches of Mr. Ravenscroft Dennis (*op. cit.*, Introd., p. xii. n.), who notes similar advertisements in *The Daily Post* of the same date, and in *The Evening Post* of Oct. 27–9. The advertisement is of interest and importance not only because it gives us the exact date of the publication of *Gulliver's Travels*, but because it confirms the belief that large-paper copies belong to the first issue. Gay and Pope, writing a joint letter to Swift on 17 Nov. 1726, say, 'About ten days ago a book was published here of the travels of one Gulliver' (*Corresp.* iii. 360), and, by inference, before the discovery of contemporary advertisements, it was supposed that the work was published early in November. It may be of interest to mention that on the

3. CONTEMPORARY RECEPTION

Any apprehensions Swift may have entertained before publication were dispelled by the immediate and general popularity of *Gulliver's Travels*. It was the talk of the town until fifteen months later Gay succeeded in diverting attention to himself. 'The Beggar's Opera', wrote Swift, 'has knocked down Gulliver; I hope to see Pope's Dulness knock down the Beggar's Opera, but not till it has fully done its job.'[1] In a joint letter of November 17th Gay and Pope inform Swift that 'the whole impression sold in a week'.[2] In a contemporary pamphlet, *Gulliver Decypher'd*,[3] it is stated that 'several Thousands sold in a Week'. Dr. Johnson tells us that, 'it was received with such avidity, that the price of the first edition was raised before the second could be made'. As will be seen, the later editions issued by Motte in 1726 bear every indication of having been handed to different printing-

same day *The Daily Journal* advertises 'The Sixth Edition of, CADENUS and VANESSA. A Poem. By Dr. Sw–ft.'

Advertisements of the period are not always to be trusted for the exact date of publication; but the letters from Swift's friends, and the early sequence of the second edition of the *Travels* give reason for some confidence in this instance.

[1] Swift to Gay, 28 Mar. 1728, *Corresp.* iv. 23. 'Pope's Dulness' was *The Dunciad*, on which he was then engaged.

[2] *Corresp.* iii. 358.

[3] Possibly by Arbuthnot. Second edition, 1728 (?), p. 44. 'If our Judgment of Books was to be determin'd by their Success, *Gulliver's Travels* is certainly the best piece that ever was written, except *Pilgrim's Progress*, the *Seven Champions*, *Jack the Giant-killer*, and a few more: For 'tis very remarkable, that there have been several Thousands sold in a Week; and it is already translated into the *French* Language.' The Abbé Desfontaines in the preface to his translation (1727, 1st ed., p. xxxii) says: 'Je ne suis donc point surpris d'apprendre qu'en trois semaines, dix milles exemplaires de l'original Anglois des *Voyages de Gulliver*, ont été débités à Londres & répandus en Angleterre & ailleurs.'

houses and hurried through the press. The book appears to have given little offence in any quarter. Bolingbroke is reported to have blamed it ' as a design of evil consequence to depreciate human nature '. Swift himself gives us to suppose, with a touch of irony, that it was not favourably received in Ireland, ' which abounds in excellent judges '; [1] and he believed that he had angered the Ministry; [2] but, on the whole, success was complete. 'I congratulate you first', wrote Pope, ' upon what you call your cousin's wonderful book, which is *publica trita manu* at present, and I prophesy will be hereafter the admiration of all men.' [3]

For many months Swift's own letters, and those he received either from friends or acquaintances, contain frequent references to the book of the day. Within less than two weeks of publication Arbuthnot can write to tell Swift that ' Gulliver is in everybody's hands '. In the same letter he describes how the Princess of Wales ' was reading Gulliver, and was just come to the passage of the hobbling Prince, which she laughed at. I tell you freely, the part of the projectors is the least brilliant. Lewis grumbles a little at it, and says he wants the key to it, and is daily refining.' Again, in the same letter he relates that: ' Lord Scarborough, who is no inventor of stories, told me, that he fell in company with a master of a ship, who told him, that he was very well acquainted with Gulliver, but that the printer had mistaken, that he lived in Wapping, and not in Rotherhithe. I lent the book to an old gentleman, who went immediately to his map to search for Lilliput.' [4] A few days later Mrs. Howard

[1] *Corresp.* iii. 378.
[2] *Ibid.* 389.
[3] *Ibid.* 364, Nov. [26] 1726.
[4] *Ibid.* 356–8.

writes a letter to the Dean of St. Patrick's filled with playful allusions to his book, which show that she had read it closely, and she concludes by signing herself 'Sieve Yahoo'.[1] The Earl of Peterborough wrote in a tone of raillery and congratulation;[2] and Viscountess Bolingbroke, speaking of 'mon ami Monsieur Gulliver', says: 'J'apprend avec une grande satisfaction, qu'il vient d'etre traduit en François.'[3]

Two French translations appeared in 1727, one printed at The Hague, the other translated by the Abbé Desfontaines and printed in Paris. The Abbé explains in his preface that he has been compelled to suppress 'des choses qui renduës litteralement en François, auroient paru indécentes, pitoïables', and in a letter to Swift, covering a copy of the second edition of his translation, he apologizes for liberties he has taken with his original on the ground that the customs and taste of France are not those of England.[4] Swift's reply is acid enough: 'Vous n'avez pas craint, de donner au public la traduction d'un ouvrage, que vous assurez etre plein de polisoneries, de sottises, de puerilites, etc. Nous convenons icy, que le goût des nations n'est pas toujours le meme. Mais nous sommes portes a croire, que le bon goût est le meme par tout, ou il y a des gens d'esprit, de jugement et de scavoir. Si donc les livres du sieur Gulliver ne sont calcules que pour les isles Britanniques, ce voyageur doit passer pour un tres pitoyable ecrivain. Les memes vices et les memes folies regnent par tout.'[5]

[1] *Corresp.* iii. 361–2. 'Sieve' meaning a Court Lady. See Part III, ch. vi. Mrs. Howard, afterwards Countess of Suffolk. At this time the Prince of Wales's mistress. *D. N. B.* xxviii. 22.

[2] *Ibid.* 370–1. [3] *Ibid.* 376. [4] *Ibid.* 397, 4 July 1727.

[5] *Ibid.* 407. The French is printed as written by Swift. The

INTRODUCTION

When Swift revisited England in the spring of 1727 *Gulliver's Travels* was still being read, discussed, and canvassed. He describes to Sheridan an interview with the Princess of Wales. 'I have at last seen the Princess twice this week by her own commands. She retains her old civility, and I my old freedom. She charges me without ceremony to be author of a bad book, though I told her how angry the Ministry were; but she assures me, that both she and the Prince were very well pleased with every particular; but I disown the whole affair, as you know I very well might, only gave her leave since she liked the book to suppose what author she pleased.' [1] Meanwhile Motte was busied with successive editions to meet the popular demand. He published three octavo editions in 1726, a duodecimo and another octavo in 1727—each of these in two volumes—and towards the end of the latter year he consulted the author on the advisability of bringing out an illustrated edition. Swift, in reply, after suggesting suitable scenes for illustration, remarks: 'As to having cuts in Gulliver's Travels, you will consider how much it will raise the price of the book. The world glutted itself with that book at first, and now it will go off but soberly; but I suppose will not be soon worn out.' [2] It seems clear that Swift,

French version printed at The Hague, 'chez P. Gosse & J. Neaulme', in two volumes, without a translator's name on the title-page, is probably the earlier of the two and the one referred to by Lady Bolingbroke. It was supplemented in the following year by a third volume (not by Swift), 'Contenant les Voiages de Brobdingnag & des Sevarambes, & la Clef des deux Tomes précédens.' A Dutch translation was also printed at The Hague in 1727. It may be noted also that in an undated letter, which probably belongs to the early part of 1728, Lady Bolingbroke mentions two French theatrical pieces 'tirées soi-disant des idées de Gulliver'. *Corresp.* iv. 445.

[1] *Corresp.* iii. 389, 13 May 1727. [2] *Ibid.* 439.

while in London earlier in the year, had seen Motte, and that he no longer attempted to hide his authorship of the book. At the same time a number of worthless keys and commentaries appeared, a spurious third volume, and a version 'Faithfully Abridged'.

It is impossible now to learn whether or not Motte saw through the secret of the authorship from the beginning. He had, at all events, the perspicacity to recognize the value of the manuscript which came 'he knew not whence, nor from whom, dropped at his house in the dark, from a hackney coach'.[1] But Swift's correspondence shows that, despite what must have been for Motte an unexpected measure of success, the publisher was slow to settle accounts. He may indeed be presumed to have paid the £200 promised in six months, or nearly, for Swift commends his 'honest and fair dealing'.[2] In May 1728, however, Gay mentions what is apparently another £100 due 'upon your account'.[3] In the following February this still seems to be outstanding, for Swift has written to Lewis 'to settle that scrub affair with Motte',[4] and it is not till near the end of the same month that he can say, 'I have absolutely got clear of Motte, and have all the money in my hands or paid to Mr. Lewis.'[5] On the little evidence we have it seems probable that Swift received £300 in all for *Gulliver's Travels*, and perhaps more.

4. MOTTE'S EDITION AND SWIFT'S COMPLAINTS

The proofs of *Gulliver's Travels* were not read by Swift himself, who left for Ireland, as we have seen, as soon as arrangements for publication were suffi-

[1] *Corresp.* iii. 364. [2] *Ibid.* iv. 317. [3] *Ibid.* 32.
[4] *Ibid.* 121. [5] *Ibid.* 126.

ciently advanced. The complaint he made, immediately upon receiving the printed volumes, that his manuscript had been edited, cannot be regarded as a mere subterfuge to escape responsibility for passages in the book. He continued his animadversions upon Motte's text years after any censure of the kind could serve his own interest; and he took steps to ensure the introduction of corrections and alterations in subsequent editions. It is certain that Motte, probably anxious to risk no venture for his ears, tampered with the manuscript. It is possible, further, that Swift took advantage of complaints, in which he was justified, to pave the way towards introducing changes, in which he was really actuated by a deference to the criticism of Arbuthnot, Gay, and Pope.[1]

Within a few weeks of the publication of *Gulliver's Travels* Swift wrote to Pope: 'I read the book over, and in the second volume observed several passages which appear to be patched and altered, and the style of a different sort, unless I am mistaken. . . . Let me add, that if I were Gulliver's friend, I would desire all my acquaintance to give out that his copy was basely mangled and abused, and added to, and blotted out by the printer; for so to me it seems, in the second volume particularly.'[2] On 14 February 1726/7, writing to Knightley Chetwode, he repeated his complaint that the book had been 'mangled in the press';[3] and in 1733, when Faulkner, the Dublin printer, was projecting an edition of the Dean's *Works*, Swift returned to the subject. 'I must tell you', he wrote to Faulkner, 'that the English printer

[1] Cf. Appendix II.

[2] *Corresp.* iii. 367–8. Of uncertain date, but probably 27 Nov. 1726.

[3] *Ibid.* 378.

made several alterations which I much disapprove of.'[1] At the same time he wrote to Ford: 'Now you may please remember how much I complained of Motte's suffering some friend of his—I suppose it was Mr. Tooke,[2] a clergyman now dead—not only to blot out some things that he thought might give offence, but to insert a good deal contrary to the author's manner and style and intention. . . . To say the truth, I cannot with patience endure that mingled and mangled manner as it came from Motte's hands.'[3] In another letter to Ford, of the same year, he gives an example of Motte's alterations: 'For instance, the title of one chapter is the Queen's Administration without a Prime Minister, and accordingly in the chapter it is said that she had no chief Minister, etc.[4] Besides the whole sting is absent out of several passages in order to soften them. Thus the style is debased, the humour quite lost, and the matter insipid.'[5]

Were we dependent on these letters only it would be difficult to dismiss them as no more than the raising of a cloud of dust. The tone is too consistent, they belong to widely separated years, the text and the style of passages in Motte's editions bear them out. But the steps Swift took, through his friend, Charles Ford, to record the alterations he wished to appear in later editions, place the mangling of his manuscript by the printer beyond a doubt.

[1] *Corresp.* iv. 444.

[2] The Rev. Andrew Tooke (1673–1732), a son of Benjamin Tooke, Swift's bookseller, and brother of Benjamin Tooke, the younger. He was for many years Master of the Charterhouse. See *D. N. B.* lvii. 39, and Plomer's *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers, 1668–1725*, p. 293.

[3] *Corresp.* iv. 444.

[4] See *Gulliver's Travels*, Part IV, ch. vi.

[5] *Corresp.* v. 26.

5. FORD'S CORRECTIONS

It has been seen above that Swift, in letters to his friends, began almost immediately to animadvert in general terms against the text of his book as published by Motte. The charge he brought was a wholesale tampering with certain passages. But the first communication Motte received on this subject confined itself to the specific correction of verbal and typographical errors only, with, occasionally, a severe comment on the manifest corruption of paragraphs or pages. The original, a letter written by Charles Ford,[1] is preserved in the Forster Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, and is here printed as written:

'Dublin Jan. 3. 1726[7]

'Sir

'I bought here Capt[n] Gulliver's Travels, publish'd by you, both because I heard much Talk of it, and because of a Rumor, that a Friend of mine is suspected to be the Author. I have read this Book twice over with great Care, as well as great Pleasure, & am sorry to tell you it abounds with many gross Errors of the Press, whereof I have sent you as many as I could find, with the Corrections of them as the plain Sense must lead, and I hope you will insert them when you make another Edition.

'I have an entire Respect for the Memory of the late Queen, and am always pleas'd when others shew the same; but that Paragraph relating to her looks so very much beside the Purpose that I cannot think it to have been written by the same Author. I wish you & your Friends would consider it, and let it be left out in the next Edition. For it is plainly false in Fact, since all the World knows that the Queen during her whole Reign governed by one first Minister or other. Neither do I find the

[1] Charles Ford of Woodpark, a demesne near Dublin, was a man of means and well known in London society. He and Swift were close friends during the latter part of Queen Anne's reign. His name is often mentioned in the *Journal to Stella*. In later years he entertained Swift and Stella at Woodpark. See Swift's verses, 'Stella at Woodpark'.

Author to be any where given to Flattery, or indeed very favourable to any Prince or Minister whatsoever.

'These things I let you know out of perfect good will to the Author and yourself, and I hope you will understand me, who am,

'Sr your affectionate Friend & Servant

'Cha: Ford.'

A list of corrections follows, and these, with two or three exceptions, Motte adopted in what he called his second edition, though actually his fourth or fifth, the octavo of 1727. The larger faults are not corrected by Ford in his list, but criticized, and to these criticisms Motte paid no attention, unless the pen-strokes through or under these comments are his handiwork.[1]

The copy of *Gulliver's Travels* which Ford represents himself as having purchased in Dublin is almost certainly the very one bought by John Forster from Booth, the bookseller, who obtained it at the Malone sale.[2] This, a large paper copy of Motte's first edition, with textual corrections in Ford's hand,[3] and interleaved for longer emendations, is now in the Forster Library. The minor alterations on the face of the printed page number about fifty, in addition to those

[1] The above letter, although written and signed by Ford, was probably composed by Swift. For the list of errata see Appendix I. In the original letter comments upon passages or pages to which exception is taken by Ford are either underscored or struck through. These marks are unlikely to have been made by Ford himself. If made by Motte, or by somebody in his office, the differentiation between underlining and deletion is difficult to explain, except that the more caustic criticisms seem to meet with harsher treatment. 'False and silly, infallibly not the same Author' is deleted with a single line; but the incensed publisher, if it be he, strikes two lines through 'manifestly most barbarously corrupted, full of Flatnesses, &c.'; whereas 'seems to have much of the Author's manner of thinking, but in many places wants his Spirit' is merely underlined.

[2] See Forster's *Life of Jonathan Swift*, Preface, p. viii.

[3] See a letter by Mr. Ravenscroft Dennis in *The Athenaeum*, 29 Jan. 1898, pp. 153, 154.

which Ford had already noted in his list; and on seven of the fourteen blank interleaves he has written out, in full, corrections of the 'corrupted' passages.[1] These more important alterations and about half the corrections of the Ford copy, additional to the list, first appeared in the edition of *Gulliver's Travels* published by Faulkner, the Dublin printer, in 1735. The alterations, however, show minor variations from the Ford corrections, and there are many additional verbal emendations. Faulkner's edition has been disparaged as a private venture, carrying no authority from the author himself. Hawkesworth,[2] who edited a handsome edition of *The Works of Jonathan Swift D.D.*, for Charles Bathurst, in 1755, was the first formidable assailant. But Bathurst, Motte's successor, would have every reason for belittling the rival editions of the Dublin printer; and Hawkesworth's criticisms show little perspicacity or knowledge of the true facts. The statement of his preface that alterations were made in the text of *Gulliver's Travels* as first printed 'by the person through whose hands they were conveyed to the press' is a misrepresentation of the part played by Swift's friends; and it is quite untrue that 'the

[1] The bookplate of Charles Ford appears in each volume of this copy. The first volume remains in contemporary calf in bad condition, the joints cracked and recently strengthened. The second volume has been re-bound by the department. Each is preserved in a case. The seven pairs of blank leaves are all in Vol. II, and have been left in the positions occupied by them before the book was re-bound. The corrections are not always opposite the pages to which they refer. The leaves correcting pp. 47 ff. of the Voyage to Laputa, for example, are placed between pp. 70 and 71 of the Voyage to the Houyhnhnms. Ford's copy is without the map to Part IV. This perhaps was omitted by inadvertence when the blank leaves were inserted. For the alterations appearing on these leaves see Appendix II.

[2] For John Hawkesworth, LL.D. (1715?–73), see *D. N. B.* xxv. 203.

original passages were restored to the subsequent editions' published by Motte. They were first restored by Faulkner in 1735.

When Faulkner projected a new edition of Swift's *Works*, Motte had published six editions of *Gulliver's Travels*.[1] Three octavo editions appeared in rapid succession in 1726, and a duodecimo, set from the third octavo of 1726, was published in 1727. In none of these was any textual emendation made at the suggestion of Swift or Ford. But in 1727, as we have seen, Motte published, further, a fourth octavo edition in which he made use of the list of errata appended to Ford's letter. In 1731 he issued a second duodecimo, made up from sheets of the earlier edition of the same size, with new title-pages. In addition, a serial issue and an abridged version had appeared in London, and two editions had been printed in Dublin. None of these, whether published by Motte or other booksellers, remedied the passages with which Swift was aggrieved; and in only one was any measure of real textual correction attempted.

Are we justified, with Hawkesworth and some other editors, in dismissing Faulkner's edition as a venture independent of the author, or was Swift, directly or indirectly, associated with it? To this question there can be but one answer in respect of the corrections belonging to Ford's list of errata and his interleaved copy of *Gulliver's Travels*. These are directly attributable to Swift, apart, perhaps, from the trifling corrections of obvious verbal and typographical errors, which Ford was competent to note for himself. There remain the additional alterations made by Faulkner. Have

[1] See *infra*, pp. lxxxv–xcii.

these the appearance of changes made by the printer, or a general character which would lead us to attribute them to the author? In brief—what value should be assigned to Faulkner's text as a whole?

6. FAULKNER'S TEXT

Towards the close of the year 1732, or at the beginning of 1733, Faulkner solicited Swift's recognition of an edition of his works, in four volumes, which the Dublin printer proposed to publish as a commercial venture. At first Swift adopted, or pretended to, an attitude of passive dissatisfaction with the project. Writing to Oxford, he described Faulkner's activities as 'a work which very much discontents me', but added, 'yet I would rather have it fall into his hands, than any other's on this side'.[1] A little later he wrote to Pope: 'A printer came to me to desire he might print my works, as he called them, in four volumes by subscription. I said I would give no leave, and should be sorry to see them printed here. He said they could not be printed in London. I said they could, if the partners agreed. He said, he would be glad of my permission, but as he could print them without it, and was advised that he could do me no harm, and having been assured of numerous subscriptions, he hoped I would not be angry at his pursuing his own interest, etc. Much of this discourse passed, and he goes on with the matter, wherein I determined not to intermeddle, though it be much to my discontent, and I wish it could be done in England, rather than here, although I am grown pretty indifferent in everything of that kind. This is the truth of the story.'[2]

[1] *Corresp.* iv. 390. 16 Feb. 1732/3. [2] *Ibid.* 431. 1 May 1733.

There is no reason to doubt Swift's displeasure. At first he hoped that Faulkner might be induced to abandon his plan; but when he realized that the printer was determined to proceed, he apparently began to consider it an opportunity for mending the text. In June he wrote to Faulkner: 'I desire Mrs. Pilkington will deliver you the paper relating to Gulliver, which I left with her husband, for, since you intend to print a new edition of that book, I must tell you, that the English printer made several alterations which I much disapprove of, and cannot set them right without those papers. If I am not mistaken, Mr. Pilkington [1] hath an edition of Gulliver, where the true original copy is interleaved in manuscript. I desire I may also see that book.'[2] On the same day he wrote to Ford to ask whether the copy of 'Gulliver interleaved' was in his possession. Ford took little trouble to bestir himself, for as late as November of the same year we find him writing to Swift: 'I lent Mr. Corbett [3] that paper to correct his Gulliver by, and it was from it that I mended my own. There is every single alteration from the original copy; and the printed book abounds with all those errors, which should be avoided in the new edition. In my book the blank leaves were wrong placed, so that there are perpetual references backwards and forwards, and it is more difficult to be

[1] The Rev. Matthew Pilkington, a worthless young clergyman, whom Swift recommended as a chaplain to his friend Barber, Mayor of London. His wife, Laetitia, was the author of *Memoirs*, which give us some intimate and interesting pictures of the Dean and his surroundings. See *Memoirs of Mrs. Laetitia Pilkington*, 1748, two volumes. In 1754 a third volume appeared, edited by her son.

[2] *Corresp.* iv. 444. 29 June 1733.

[3] The Rev. Francis Corbett, one of Stella's executors. He was afterwards a successor of Swift in the Deanery.

understood than the paper; but I will try to get one of the second edition, which is much more correct than the first, and transcribe all the alterations more clearly.' [1]

Faulkner's edition of *Gulliver's Travels* appeared in 1735, as the third of four volumes constituting the *Works*. Motte was disturbed at the prospect of this edition selling in England and wrote to Swift asking his help in preventing Faulkner also bringing out an edition ' in twelves '.[2] Swift protested his inability to control Faulkner, and explained that all his friends had pressed the printer to issue ' those volumes ', and that they ' gave him what manuscript copies they had occasionally gotten from me '.[3] Motte thereupon filed a bill in the Court of Chancery to stop the sale of Faulkner's edition in England. This was an attack on Ireland calculated to rouse Swift, and he wrote at length to his English publisher asserting that Irish printers were morally, if not legally, justified in trying to sell their wares in England.[4]

If we follow Swift's own account of the transaction, we see him passing from opposition, or indifference to Faulkner's undertaking, into a desire that the text of the third volume of the *Works*, at least, should be more accurate than that of any edition of *Gulliver's Travels* previously published. He wrote to more than one friend to discover the whereabouts of the ' Paper ' of errata and the copy interleaved with corrections, with the intention, clearly, of permitting the Dublin printer

[1] *Corresp.* v. 37. 6 Nov. 1733. It will be noted, *supra*, p. xxxvi n., that Ford accurately describes the copy of *Gulliver's Travels* preserved in the Forster Library.

[2] Faulkner actually did publish a duodecimo edition in the same year.

[3] *Corresp.* v. 257. 1 Nov. 1735.

[4] *Ibid.* 338–40.

to make use of them.[1] So far, therefore, the Faulkner edition can claim not only the countenance, but the active interest of the author. Additional evidence goes to prove that Swift's co-operation went even further.

Faulkner himself discreetly refrained from any claim to have received direct assistance from the author. His four-volume edition appeared as *The Works of J. S, D.D, D.S.P.D*, and, in 'The Publisher's Preface' to this collection, he admitted that no arguments prevailed with the 'Supposed Author' to give 'Leave to print those Writings in Verse and Prose, which are universally imputed to him'. He adds, however, 'that the supposed Author was prevailed on to suffer some Friends to review and correct the Sheets after they were printed; and sometimes he condescended, as we have heard, to give them his own Opinion'. In his public announcements of the third volume he goes no further than the statement that he has 'set right' the 'many Alterations made by the *London* Printer', which 'were without the Author's Knowledge, and much to his Displeasure, as we have learned from an intimate Friend of the Author's, who in his own Copy, transcribed in blank Paper, the several Paragraphs omitted, and settled the Alterations and Changes according to the original Copy'.[2] From

[1] Mr. Ravenscroft Dennis, *op. cit.*, Introd., p. xxix, remarks: 'Swift's interest in the edition went no further than this, and he certainly did not see the book through the press.' It is possible that Swift did not actually see the book through the press, but it is difficult to believe, on evidence which can be adduced, that his interest ceased at this point. Dr. A. B. Gough (*Gulliver's Travels*, Clarendon Press, 1915, 'Editor's Introduction', p. xii) follows Dennis, without, however, examining the evidence, in remarking that Faulkner's edition 'was never authorized or revised by Swift' and that it 'cannot be relied on'.

[2] An advertisement appended to *A Scheme to Make an Hospital for Incurables*, dated 19 Jan. 1734/5. The third volume was also advertised

these, and from 'The Advertisement' prefixed to his edition of *Gulliver's Travels*, it is plainly evident that Faulkner had been given to understand that he was not at liberty to profess any direct communication with the author. In 'The Advertisement' it is the 'intimate Friend', once more, who has given him leave to 'transcribe his Corrections'. This again was followed, and for the first time, by 'A Letter from Capt. Gulliver to His Cousin Sympson',[1] which has since taken its place as part of the ordinary text of *Gulliver's Travels*. The letter is, of course, by Swift himself. Although dated 'April 2, 1727', it was written for the Faulkner edition and intended to add to the uncertainty attaching to the publication and text of a book which professed to be written by a simple sea-surgeon and 'Captain of several Ships'. The letter is of some length, and only those passages relating more directly to the text are here quoted.

'I hope you will be ready to own publickly, whenever you shall be called to it, that by your great and frequent Urgency you prevailed on me to publish a very loose and uncorrect Account of my Travels; with Direction to hire some young Gentlemen of either University to put them in Order, and correct the Style, as my Cousin *Dampier* did by my Advice, in his Book called, *A Voyage round the World*. But I do not remember I gave you Power to consent, that any thing should be inserted: Therefore, as to the latter, I do here renounce every thing of that Kind; particularly a Paragraph about her Majesty the late Queen *Anne*, of most pious and glorious Memory. . . . Likewise, in the Account of the Academy of Projectors, and several Passages of my Discourse to my Master Houyhnhnm, you have either

in the *Dublin Impartial News Letter* of 23 Nov. 1734. These announcements are set out by Dr. F. Elrington Ball in Appendix V, pp. 449–52, of vol. v of the *Correspondence*.

[1] 'Richard Sympson', the fictitious relation of Gulliver, is the professed writer of the introductory 'Publisher to the Reader' of the first edition.

omitted some material Circumstances, or minced or changed them in such a Manner, that I do hardly know my own Work. When I formerly hinted to you something of this in a Letter, you were pleased to answer that you were afraid of giving Offence; that People in Power were very watchful over the Press; and apt not only to interpret, but punish every thing which looked like an *Inuendo* (as I think you called it.) . . .

'I find likewise, that your Printer hath been so careless as to confound the Times, and mistake the Dates of my several Voyages and Returns; neither assigning the true Year, or the true Month, or Day of the Month: And I hear the original Manuscript is all destroyed, since the Publication of my Book. Neither have I any Copy left: however, I have sent you some Corrections, which you may insert, if ever there should be a second Edition: And yet I cannot stand to them, but shall leave that Matter to my judicious and candid Readers, to adjust it as they please. . . .

'If the Censure of *Yahoos* could any Way affect me, I should have great Reason to complain, that some of them are so bold as to think my Book of Travels a meer Fiction out of my own Brain; and have gone so far as to drop Hints, that the *Houyhnhnms* and *Yahoos* have no more Existence than the Inhabitants of *Utopia*.

'Indeed I must confess, that as to the People of *Lilliput*, *Brobdingrag*, (for so the Word should have been spelt, and not, erroneously *Brobdingnag*)[1] and *Laputa*; I have never yet heard of any *Yahoo* so presumptuous as to dispute their Being, or the Facts I have related concerning them; because the Truth immediately strikes every Reader with Conviction.'

This letter is an important witness in favour of the value attaching to Faulkner's text; for, unless Swift had an interest amounting to something much more than passive acquiescence, it is difficult to believe that he could have been induced to write what is in effect a preface of some length for the new edition.[2] The

[1] This correction is not, of course, to be taken literally. It is just one of those touches, in which Swift excelled, which lend a convincing air of reality to the whole book.

[2] That the letter was written for Faulkner, and not earlier, is certain. As Dr. Lucius L. Hubbard points out, *Contributions towards a Bibliography*

ground traversed, so far as relates to the text of the book, is that with which we are already familiar in his correspondence, except an additional complaint that times and dates have been confounded. But further to the corrections appearing on Ford's 'Paper' and in his interleaved copy of *Gulliver's Travels*, there are alterations in Faulkner's text which are difficult to explain as the unaided work of a printing-house. Even Hawkesworth, despite his attack on Faulkner, silently followed many of these changes, so obviously are they improvements of the text, matter, or grammar.

It has been noted that Swift was ill pleased at first that Faulkner should publish an edition of his *Works*, but his discontent did not extend to the printer himself. In a letter to Oxford he describes Faulkner as 'the prince of Dublin printers', and further in the same letter remarks, 'I would rather have it fall into his hands, than any other's on this side.'[1] And Faulkner's behaviour throughout commends the integrity of his purpose. He made no claim in his announcements or prefaces to have had any direct communication with the author, though Swift's correspondence, apart from other evidence, quite rebuts a story so unlikely. It would have been all to his interest to profess that his edition was countenanced by the author; but, as we have seen, he almost goes out of his way to disclaim such an advantage. Not till 1768,

of Gulliver's Travels, p. 76, had the letter been in Motte's possession, he would hardly have parted with it for the sake of a rival printer. And, further, a letter written on 27 Apr. 1727 (*Corresp.* iii. 386), over the name of Sympson, shows that at the end of the month Swift was carrying on business negotiations with Motte, through Erasmus Lewis, relative to the editions then published. It is inconceivable that earlier in the same month he had sent Motte so important a letter as that appearing above.

[1] *Corresp.* iv. 389-90.

and after Hawkesworth's criticism,[1] did he tear off the veil of secrecy which Swift, following his common habit, had imposed upon him. The author was then long dead, and the promise, if exacted, could no longer be considered binding. When the edition of 1735 was being prepared for the press, Swift, we are told, required that 'the Editor should attend him early every Morning, or when most convenient, to read to him, that the Sounds might strike the Ear, as well as the Sense the Understanding, and had always two Men Servants present for this purpose; and when he had any Doubt, he would ask them the Meaning of what they heard; which if they did not comprehend, he would alter and amend until they understood it perfectly well, and then would say, *This will do; for I write to the Vulgar, more than to the Learned.* Not satisfied with this Preparation for the Press, he corrected every Sheet of the first seven Volumes that were published in his Life Time, desiring the Editor to write Notes, being much younger than the Dean, acquainted with most of the Transactions of his Life.'[2]

There is nothing inherently improbable in Faulkner's story, nor need it be dismissed as an attempt to

[1] Hawkesworth's attack appeared in 1755. The last of Faulkner's editions published previously to that date was a duodecimo of 1752. Faulkner died in 1775.

[2] *Works*, vol. i (1768), 'To the Reader', pp. viii, ix. On pp. x, xi he asserts that Hawkesworth was imposed upon by 'some *London* Bookseller' into believing that '*Faulkner* was not known to Dr. *Swift*'. This, he maintains, is clearly contradicted by letters which he publishes from the 'Dean to the Editor, relative to many Pieces of Writing, as also to many of his Friends'. On p. xiv Faulkner states of his edition that the author 'corrected seven Volumes in his own Life-Time'. In a note which appears in the 1759 edition of *Gulliver's Travels* (vol. iii of the *Works*) Faulkner mentions that 'The original Manuscript is now in the Possession of *George Faulkner*, the Editor, to whom the Author bestowed it'. For Faulkner's final editions see further, pp. xcvii, xcviii.

justify his edition of the *Works* in the face of hostile criticism. Sixteen years earlier Orrery had, in substance, the same story to tell. 'Faulkner's edition,' he says, 'at least the first four volumes of it (for there are now eight) were published, by the permission and connivance, if not by the particular appointment of the Dean himself.'[1] And later he is more explicit: 'I was acquainted with the Dean, at the time when Faulkner's edition came out, and therefore must always look upon that copy as most authentic, well knowing that Mr. Faulkner had the advantage of printing his edition, by the consent and approbation of the author himself. The four first volumes were published by subscription, and every sheet of them was brought to the Dean for his revisal and correction.'[2] Orrery was well acquainted with Swift in his latter years, and there is no reason to believe that he would invent a statement so circumstantial. Even if he exaggerates the extent to which Swift examined the proofs, and the story be only partially true, he remains a witness in Faulkner's favour who cannot be disregarded. And a letter written by Swift to Pope, while Faulkner was engaged in printing the *Works*, leaves no doubt that, at the very least, he occasionally glanced over the sheets as they went to press: 'As to the printing of my things going on here, it is an evil I cannot prevent. I shall not be a penny the richer. Some friends correct the errors, and now and then I look on them for a minute or two.'[3] If this were all, it shows that, from time to time, Swift saw the proofs. And it is almost certainly an under-statement of his co-operation with

[1] *Remarks* (1752), p. 79. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 81.
[3] *Corresp.* v. 1. 8 July 1733.

Faulkner. As we know, he made a lifelong habit of concealing his relationship with his own writings.

The internal evidence of Faulkner's edition of *Gulliver's Travels* virtually confirms the conclusion that Swift's share in the publication was much more than passive. The textual changes, additional to those of the 'Paper' and Ford's interleaved copy, are frequently of a character unlikely to have been made either by the printer or by Swift's friends. Faulkner even introduces minor alterations into the longer passages substituted by Ford (on his blank leaves) for the omissions and modifications of the Motte editions. But, disregarding these and a few minor changes of no importance, we find that the Faulkner text contains about one hundred variations from that of Motte, additional to those authorized by Ford. A detailed scrutiny of these is here neither possible nor necessary; but the study of a few of the more striking changes is instructive.[1]

In Chapter VI of the Voyage to Lilliput Swift gives an account of the nurseries for children in that country. The age of majority, our twenty-one, is given as fifteen among the Lilliputians (First Ed., Part I, p. 104, ll. 10, 11). In other words, as fifteen years with them is equal to twenty-one with us, so five years are the equivalent of our seven. Furthermore, the marriageable age of girls in Lilliput is given as twelve. According to the Motte editions, and Faulkner, children of quality are removed from the nurseries on the attainment of their majority, at the ages of fifteen and twelve respectively to the sexes. But according to

[1] For a table of 'Some Words and Phrases in the Faulkner Text that do not appear in the Motte Texts', see Hubbard, *op. cit.*, pp. 63–72.

Motte, boys ' designed for Trades are put out Apprentices at Eleven years old ', girls ' intended for Apprentices, are dismissed at nine Years old, the rest are kept to thirteen '. Now it may be assumed that, as seven years was the common period of apprenticeship in England, five would represent the length of a Lilliputian apprenticeship. According to Motte's editions, the apprenticeship of boys and girls in Lilliput extended to sixteen and fourteen respectively, that is beyond their majority, and girls of the ' meaner sort ' were not removed to their homes until they had more than attained a marriageable age. In the Faulkner text these figures are corrected to reduce the limits beneath the age of majority. Boys and girls are both apprenticed at seven, and girls of the meaner order, not intended for apprentices, are returned to their parents at eleven. The object of these changes, which in the original do not all appear on one page, or even on pages facing each other, is, on examination, clear; but it is almost unbelievable that a printer could have troubled himself with these calculations; nor, indeed, probable that they came from a friend, except through the author himself.

In Chapter V of the Voyage to Brobdingnag (First Ed., Part II, p. 94, ll. 2–4) Gulliver tells us that the monkey ' caught hold of the Lappet of my Coat, (which being made of that Country Cloth, was very thick and strong,)'. In Faulkner's edition the word ' Cloth ' is altered to ' Silk ', a change dictated by the account Gulliver gives in Chapter III, nearly forty pages earlier (First Ed., Part II, p. 55, l. 1), of the clothes ordered for him by the Queen of ' the thinnest Silks that could be gotten '. The correction of so

minute a point is not likely to have arisen in the printing-house, nor, in the same passage, the alteration of the original words, 'caught hold of', to 'seized' in the Faulkner text.

One more example may be added. In Chapter X of the Voyage to the Houyhnhnms (First Ed., Part IV, p. 149, l. 9) a description is given of Houyhnhnm conversational habits, 'Where the greatest *Decency* was observed'. In Faulkner's text this becomes 'Where (as I have already said) the . . .' The reference back is to two widely separated passages, pp. 27 and 126 of Motte's edition, and typically in Swift's manner. Are we to believe that the obliging 'intimate Friend', or the 'Editor', introduced a characteristic, but unnecessary touch, as the result of a minute study of Swift's style and narrative detail? Even had Faulkner been under the necessity, by the introduction of some additional changes, to substantiate the statement which appeared on the title-page of his edition of *Gulliver's Travels*—'In this Impression several Errors in the *London* and *Dublin* Editions are corrected'—the character of the changes made is difficult, in many instances, to explain, except on the supposition that the author himself was behind them.[1] And, without any of these additional corrections, he was fully justified in his claim. It is difficult to escape the conclusion, on internal evidence, that the account of Swift's co-operation, which Faulkner gives in the preface to his final editions of the *Works*, is, at the very least, in some measure true.

[1] The reader is further referred to the Notes for the more important of the textual changes introduced by Faulkner into his edition. Many of these changes, it can hardly be denied, strongly suggest authoritative revision.

And, if this be so, Faulkner's text of *Gulliver's Travels* can claim to be the form finally approved by the author. But it is a revised text, not that of the manuscript which first reached Motte's hands. The corrections of Ford's 'Paper' must be, in some instances, corrections of the original copy and not merely of arbitrary changes made by the printer; the substitutions of the interleaved volume (although on this point it is impossible to speak with certainty) have the appearance of going beyond the rectification of passages omitted or modified by Tooke; and Faulkner's additional changes are an afterthought. Motte's editions, supplemented by the restorations of Ford's interleaved volume, present as near an approximation as we can now hope for to the manuscript Swift carried with him from Dublin to London in 1726.

7. EARLY EDITIONS OF 'GULLIVER'S TRAVELS'

It has been noted already [1] that before Faulkner undertook the publication of a revised text of *Gulliver's Travels* nine editions had appeared, either in London or Dublin, and to these may be added a serial issue of no importance in *Parker's Penny Post*, between 28 November 1726 and 3 November 1727. In 1726 Motte published three octavo editions, hitherto commonly described as variant issues of the first edition.[2] The

[1] *Supra*, p. xxxvii.

[2] The question of precedence as between these three issues, or editions, first began to attract attention in the pages of *Notes and Queries* (4th Ser., ix. 342; 6th Ser., xii. 350, 398, 474). In 1872 a writer noticed that there was an edition separately paged for each of the four Parts, and another continuously paged throughout each volume, both published in 1726. In 1885 it was pointed out that there were two issues with separate pagination, and one with continuous pagination, in 1726; and Mr. Edward Solly suggested differentiating these as A, AA, and B issues. In

first edition was published by Motte at the end of October 1726, but, so unexpectedly popular did the work prove, that he hurriedly issued two more editions before the end of the year. Contemporary evidence clearly shows that the demand was greater than the printer was prepared to meet; and the peculiarities distinguishing the first three Motte editions suggest that he was led to calling in the assistance of more than one printing-house. If, at a first glance, the general appearance of title-pages and type-page is unprovocative, further examination soon reveals curious irregularities, extending even to the use of different type within the same volume; and textual variations between the three editions show that they could not have been printed throughout from the same set of formes.

It has long been customary to speak of the three Motte editions of 1726 as separate issues of a single edition. The words we have at our disposal—edition, issue, impression, re-impression—do not, perhaps, cover every shade of difference, and they are often loosely used; but there seems to be no justification for describing as issues of one edition books set anew, printed from different type, and varying from each other in hundreds of particulars, great and small. The practice of using the word ' issue ' sprang from the neglect of

this he was followed by Mr. Ravenscroft Dennis in the valuable introduction to his edition of *Gulliver's Travels* (1899), and by W. Spencer Jackson in his *Bibliography of the Writings of Jonathan Swift* (in vol. xii, 1908, of *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, edited by Temple Scott). Dr. Lucius W. Hubbard in his admirable *Contributions towards a Bibliography of Gulliver's Travels* (1922) carried the investigation of early editions further by a line-for-line and word-for-word comparison. This brought to light typographical and bibliographical secrets which had previously passed unnoticed. The present writer had covered independently much of the ground traversed by Dr. Hubbard before, by meeting with his book, his further labours were lightened.

a close textual and typographical scrutiny. The more correct term of definition is here used.

The general character and format of these editions may first be stated, before considering their differences and probable order of publication.

8. THE THREE MOTTE EDITIONS OF 1726

Gulliver's Travels was published by Motte in two octavo volumes, printed in a large and well-spaced type, with twenty-five lines to the page. The appearance of the page is not unpleasing, and the edition is a good example of early eighteenth-century printing. Some copies of the first edition were issued in large paper. In each of the three editions of 1726 Vol. I, containing the Voyages to Lilliput and Brobdingnag, has a portrait of Gulliver prefixed, engraved by Sheppard. This is followed by a general title-page: 'Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World. In Four Parts. By Lemuel Gulliver, first a Surgeon, and then a Captain of several Ships. London: *Printed for* Benj. Motte, *at the Middle* Temple-Gate *in* Fleet-street. MDCCXXVI.' In all the Motte editions the verso of this general title-page is blank, and is followed by a leaf containing, on the recto, the general contents (or titles of the four parts). In one edition the verso of this leaf is blank, in the others it contains the first page of 'The Publisher to the Reader' (five pages). This is followed by a separate title-page to Part I.[1] In one edition 'The Contents' of Part I begin on the verso of this leaf, in the other two the verso is blank; and,

[1] In the two editions with separate pagination the special title-page to Part I is the only member of the series with a printer's ornament—a basket of fruit and flowers.

whereas in two editions ' The Contents ' occupy three pages, in one they are compressed into two pages on one leaf. ' The Contents ' are followed by a map, showing the situation of Lilliput, which faces the first page of the text. In this volume there are also a separate title-page and table of contents, for Part II, in each edition occupying three leaves. A map faces the first page of the text. In one edition each volume is paged continuously throughout; the other two have separate pagination for each part.

In all the Motte editions, with the exception of the duodecimo of 1731,[1] the imprint on the title-page of Volume II differs consistently from the imprint on the title-page of Volume I in that ' Benjamin ' is printed in full, and ' *in* Fleet-street ' is omitted. This title-page covers both Parts III and IV. There is a separate title-page to Part IV, but none to Part III. Except, as noted above, in the case of Part I, the separate title-pages have a blank verso. In each edition ' The Contents ' to Parts III and IV occupy two and three leaves respectively. Each of the two Parts in this volume is preceded by a map; and Part III contains, in addition, a plan showing the movement of the flying island and a figure of the word machine.

In each edition ' Vol. I.' appears on the title-page of the first volume, but the volume number of the second volume is stated only on the title-page of the continuously paged edition. In this edition, further, in conformity with the pagination, the signatures run through each volume, whereas in the other two

[1] On the general title-page of Vol. I of the 1731 duodecimo ' Benjamin ' is printed in full; but, following all the other Motte editions, ' *in* Fleet-street ' is omitted from the general title-page of Vol. II.

editions the signatures begin anew with each part. This has prompted the suggestion that each part was intended to be issued separately. But in the two separately paged editions the preliminary leaves at the beginning of the first volume are numbered, the numeration including the title-page and the leaf of general contents. This seems definitely to dispose of the surmise that there was ever any intention of issuing the parts separately. And, further, whatever may originally have been in Motte's mind, the letter of 13 August 1726, from 'R. Sympson',[1] is clear evidence that Swift desired a complete publication of the whole work at one and the same time. The preliminary leaves to the other three parts are not numbered.

In one edition the preliminary matter at the beginning of the first volume occupies a complete signature, and the text of Part I begins on B. In the other two the preliminary matter is compressed within six leaves, and the text begins on A 7. In the case of the two separately paged editions signature B begins with the first page of the text of the other three parts.

In the continuously paged edition the words '*By Captain* Lemuel Gulliver' appear on the separate title-page to Part I, but not in the other two editions; and the first volume of this edition, in conformity with its continuous pagination, closes with '*The End of the First Volume*', whereas the others more naturally describe that page as '*The End of the Second Part*'.

A curious and common error appears in all the Motte editions. The seventh chapter of Part III is numbered 'CHAP. V.'[2]

[1] *Supra*, p. xxv.

[2] Faulkner continued the mistake in his 8vo edition of 1735, and it also appears in Risk's Dublin edition of 1727.

9. LATER MOTTE EDITIONS

At this stage, and before any attempt to establish priority as between the three editions of 1726, it may not be out of place, for purpose of comparison, to state in general terms the character of the three subsequent editions of *Gulliver's Travels* published by Motte before he died in 1738 and his business was taken over by Charles Bathurst. Three editions in two months failed to satisfy the public demand, and in 1727 Motte published two more editions, one an octavo and the other a duodecimo. The latter is almost certainly the earlier of the two, for it disregards the Ford ' Paper ' of corrections, which was followed, for the first time, in the text of the octavo of the same year. The duodecimo was evidently a cheap and more popular edition. It contains the four maps, two plans, and, in addition, four illustrations, one to each part, but no portrait. Some copies contain twelve pages of prefatory verses, which also appear in the octavo edition. The title-pages of the duodecimo do not state it as being any edition. It is divided into two volumes, sometimes bound as one. The pagination and signatures are continuous throughout each volume. As in the continuously paged edition of 1726, the words '*By Captain* Lemuel Gulliver ' appear on the title-page of Part I, the ' Contents ' of Part I are compressed on a single leaf, and Volume I closes with '*The End of the First Volume*'. A comparison of the text with the three octavos of 1726, and that of 1727, makes it certain that the compositor was following a copy of the continuously paged octavo.

The octavo edition bearing the same date was prob-

ably printed later in the year, for it embodies most of the corrections appended to Ford's letter. It contains a portrait, four maps, two plans, but no illustrations. In some copies twenty-four pages of verses appear with the preliminary matter of Volume I, in others only twenty pages. Each part is separately paged. The first volume describes this as 'The Second Edition', the second volume as 'The Second Edition, Corrected'. The words '*By Captain* Lemuel Gulliver' do not appear on the separate title-page of Part II, as they do in previous issues.

In 1731 Motte issued a second duodecimo edition, made up from sheets of the first, with altered general title-page and separate title-pages to suit the new date.

10. PRIORITY AND SEQUENCE OF THE MOTTE EDITIONS

The editions of *Gulliver's Travels* published by Motte divide themselves, as has been noted above, into two triplets. Three of the six editions are separately paged for each part, and in three the pagination runs continuously through each volume. Or, if we look at these editions from a different angle, the question of priority and sequence admits little doubt, even after the slightest scrutiny, in the case of the octavo of 1727 and the two duodecimo editions. The three editions of 1726 require closer examination.

It is a common practice of the bookseller's catalogue to claim that a copy of *Gulliver's Travels*, 'with portrait in the first state, the word "subsidies" on p. 35 of Part I, and the date "1724" on p. 64', belongs to the 'first issue of the first edition'. Of these three frequently cited marks of distinction the first and the

third have something to tell us; the second is not, in itself, of importance. The most natural argument from the form 'Subsidues', which appears in one of the 1726 editions, is that it represents a printer's error which was corrected to 'Subsidies' in later editions. It happens, however, to belong to the central member of the group.

The portrait provides us with a valuable piece of evidence; for it occurs in three states, the sequence of which is not in doubt.[1] In its first state the portrait is set within an oval in a frame consisting of seven lines drawn round the oval, a narrow blank, a ten-line oval, and an outer blank. On a tablet beneath the oval is inscribed 'Captain Lemuel Gulliver, of Redriff Ætat. suæ 58'.[2] In its second state this inscription is placed on the ten-line oval surrounding the portrait, and on the tablet, from which the border-lines have been nearly erased, appear two lines from Persius.[3] In the third state the shading and detail have been retouched, and the border-rules of the tablet are more clearly defined than in the first state. There can be no question that the first state of the portrait is that with Gulliver's name on the tablet and no inscription round the oval. In the first two states the ten lines of the oval are identical. These could not have been removed, together with the inscription, and re-engraved to show no difference.

[1] Till recently only two states of the portrait were recognized. Dr. Hubbard was the first to note the third state. See Hubbard, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 26.

[2] At the time of publication Swift was in his fifty-ninth year.

[3] The lines from Persius (*Sat.* ii. 73, 74) were used by Motte in his advertisement (*supra*, p. xxvi) of the first edition, but not with the portrait, until, in its second state, it accompanied the second edition. It is not unlikely, however, that Swift was responsible for selecting the quotation.

The portrait in the first state is rare. It occurs in the large-paper copies, and in small-paper copies of that separately paged edition which has eight leaves of preliminary matter at the beginning of the first volume. As we have seen, Motte advertised, before publication, that a few copies would be printed on ' a Royal Paper '. Before passing to further evidence it may then be concluded, for working purposes, that copies of *Gulliver's Travels* with the portrait in the first state, or, if lacking the portrait, eight leaves of preliminary matter at the beginning of Vol. I, belong to the first edition.

In its second state the portrait is found in the other separately paged edition of 1726, and in the continuously paged edition. The portrait in the third state occurs, but not always, in the octavo edition of 1727.

If Motte used a separate pagination for each part of his first edition, it is probable that his second edition would follow this pattern, and that the edition continuously paged through each volume may be taken as his third. This is borne out by a correction which is made on pp. 62 and 64 of Part I in the continuously paged edition. Once on p. 62 and twice on p. 64 the number '1724' is changed to '1728'. This is not a ' date ', as it is frequently styled, but a figure representing the difference in bulk between Gulliver and a Lilliputian. According to Gulliver, one inch in Lilliput is the equivalent of an English foot. The difference in all measurements, therefore, is as twelve to one, and to arrive at the relationship of cubic content in the normal world, compared with that of Lilliput, we must take the cube of twelve. Now $12 \times 12 \times 12 = 1728$.

The number, 1724, given in the two separately paged editions is incorrect. This was noticed by somebody (probably not by Swift, for it does not appear in Ford's list of corrections) and set right. A correction of this kind seems too obvious an instance of conscious care to be anything but a deliberate emendation of previous error, and gives reason for believing that the edition in which it occurs is the third of the group.

In addition, and apart from other evidence, it is most probable that the edition with continuous pagination followed the other two editions of the same year; for the engraver indicates that the maps of Brobdingnag and Houyhnhnmland are to face p. 1 of Parts II and IV respectively. In the continuously paged edition they face pages 149 and 155. The plates were engraved to accompany an edition with separate pagination of the four parts, and were used with the continuously paged edition only because they were already in existence.

Thus we are justified in accepting a provisional working sequence of the Motte editions, and can proceed to a more detailed examination of each and its relationship to the others.

II. THE FIRST EDITION

The first edition is found on large paper (22·5 cm.) and in copies of a standard size (19·5 cm.). Some distinctive peculiarities of this edition have been noted already. The portrait occurs in the first state, and the preliminary pages at the beginning of Vol. I number sixteen. Each part is separately paged. But whereas in this edition Part III ends on p. 155, in the second edition it ends on p. 154. This difference is due to a

resetting of the matter of Chap. XI, and the arrangement of the signatures in the first edition seems to indicate that something went wrong with the contents of this chapter, involving a substitution while the sheets were in the press. The text in either case is the same, save that in the second edition two printers' errors have been corrected and the punctuation varies in unimportant particulars. The signatures run straightforwardly in the second edition, which may be taken as an indication that the chapter was set up, without question, from an earlier edition. In both editions Chap. XI begins on p. 147, but in the first the chapter occupies four leaves and the recto of a fifth, L 2a–L 4b, M 1a–M 2a, in the second only four leaves L 2a–L 5b. The matter has been compressed in the second edition. Page 147 contains 16 lines of text as against only 11 in the first edition, and a full page contains 27 lines instead of the 25 lines of a normal page in each of the octavo editions. Apart from the question of any textual difficulties which may have arisen during the setting up of Chap. XI of Part III in the first edition, the page gained in the second edition was clearly dictated by motives of economy. Part III in the second edition, including preliminary pages, is reduced to 80 leaves, instead of 81 in the first edition. In like manner the second edition by compressing the preliminary details at the beginning of Vol. I into twelve pages, instead of sixteen, succeeds in restricting this matter, in combination with the text of Part I, within 80 leaves, or ten full signatures. It is generally admitted that the practice of economy in the use of paper is the mark of a later, rather than an early or first edition. The compositor working from printed copy can judge his oppor-

tunities of saving without introducing any marked variation in the general appearance of his edition.

The third (or continuously paged) edition follows the second in printing the last page of Part I on the eightieth leaf,[1] and in compressing the matter of Chap. XI, Part III, within four leaves, ending on p. 154. The fifth (octavo of 1727) edition reverts to the setting and arrangement of the first edition.

Two founts were used in printing the first edition. Uniformity is observed throughout each volume; but the type of Vol. II is larger than that of Vol. I. The difference in height between the printed pages of either volume is, however, curiously variable. Copies of the first three editions, examined and measured, were also found to present irregular discrepancies in the height of the type-page, not altogether to be explained by the fount in use.

The leaf of copies of the first edition printed on large paper measures about 22·5 × 13·5 cm., that of the small-paper copies 19·5 × 12 cm.

The compositor (or compositors) of this edition cannot be credited with any marked degree of system or method. The spelling is apt to be archaic or eccentric, the capitalization of substantives, the use of roman or italic type, the introduction of the apostrophe, inconsistent. These irregularities were sometimes set right in the second edition, without, however, any purposive revision; for, hurried through the press as it probably was, this edition introduces new errors and passes over many that might have been corrected.

Dr. Hubbard is of opinion that copies on large paper

[1] Although in the third edition the verso of the separate title-page to Part I is left blank, the space thus lost (as compared with the second edition) is regained by printing 'The Contents' in small type on a single leaf.

probably ' represent an intermediate if not the final printing of the first edition '.[1] Three words (noted by Ford in his list of errata) on p. 50 of Part IV, which fall at the end or beginning of lines, have suffered from a dislocation of the type. The dislocation, already apparent in small-paper copies, is further developed in the large-paper copies, which read 'treasted', 'old', ' ill ' for ' treated ', ' sold ', ' till '. In copies on small paper the ' s ' of ' sold ' is out of alignment. Later it must have fallen out and been reinserted three lines higher up before the second syllable (which begins the line) of ' treated '. A few textual variations between copies of the first edition, which must have originated while the sheets were in the press, point in the same direction. Two misspelt words, ' Conspiricies ' and ' turbulancy ' (Part III, p. 90, l. 11, and p. 90, ll. 12, 13), in small-paper copies, are corrected in large-paper copies. The catchword ' sufficient ', at the foot of p. 64 of Part IV in small-paper copies, should have been ' frequent ', and is thus corrected in large-paper copies. The evidence here noted suggests the probability that small-paper copies represent Motte's earlier printing, and that the large-paper copies were printed later with a few corrections.

12. THE SECOND EDITION

In estimating the preliminary evidence for priority of issue it has been shown that the other separately paged edition of 1726 certainly followed that with the portrait in the first state, and most probably preceded the continuously paged edition. The correction of the number ' 1724 ' to ' 1728 ' is, at least, indicative of

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

this order, and a close comparison of the texts of the three, coupled with the external evidence at our disposal, finally leaves the sequence in no doubt. The differences between the first and second editions are nearly all of a minor character, but they are numerous, amounting in all to some six hundred. Most of these are compositor's variations, and cannot be examined in detail, nor do they, save when taken as a whole, serve to prove a sequence. A close and thorough examination leads, however, to the conviction that the compositors of the second edition followed a copy of the first, introducing independent ideas (perhaps of another printing-house) relative to the capitalization of numerals and substantives, the use of the apostrophe, the appropriate employment of roman or italic type, the function of the ' i ' or ' y ', the form ' wondred ' or ' wondered ', and other variations in spelling. The continuously paged edition, coming later, clearly followed the text of the second, whereas the octavo of 1727 returned to the first edition.

Although at this stage primarily considering the second edition, it may not be out of place to exhibit the family relationship of the Motte editions. This can most readily be shown by a tabulation [1] of several of the more striking differences. Among these a peculiarly instructive variation is that appearing on p. 52 of Part IV. In the first edition the sentence runs : ' But it is impossible to represent his noble Resentment.' In the second edition the word ' represent ', by a double error, becomes ' repreat ', which the compositor of the third edition corrected to ' repeat '. Although ' repeat ' fits the context passably well, it

[1] See pp. lxvi, lxvii.

does not make as good sense as ' represent ', to which the octavo of 1727 returns. And that this is the correct word there can be no doubt,[1] for an examination of the tabulated differences will show that the octavo of 1727 was edited carefully, and intended as a reversion to the first (presumably considered the correct) form of the text. This edition, as has been noted, embodied the corrections of Ford's list; but the variations set out in the table are not affected by the list, or by Ford's copy of the first edition. It will be seen that the so-called ' Second Edition ', really the fifth of Motte's editions, follows the first in eight out of nine cases. The single exception is the correction of the word ' deprived ' (which appeared in the four previous editions) to ' despised '. And this, although the error was not noted by Ford, must have been the word written by Swift; for obviously he intended Gulliver to say of the Struldbruggs, ' They are despised and hated by all sort[s] [2] of People.'

Between the first of Motte's editions and the fifth came three which are textually related. The compositors of the second (separate pagination) edition did not, in matters of spelling and minor detail, slavishly follow the printed text before them, and in other particulars also they showed some independence. For example, at II, p. 62, l. 13, the construction ' although at the same time she were heartily vexed ' is changed to the more regular ' was heartily vexed '; and on the following page, at l. 17, a note of interrogation is substituted for a full stop. The compression of Chap. XI

[1] Faulkner (followed by Hawkesworth), however, reads ' express ', which has the merit of avoiding tautophony.

[2] The final ' s ' of ' sorts ' is one of Ford's corrections. The first four editions read ' sort '.

of Part III into eight pages, instead of nine, has been noticed already. It is even possible that the word ' all ' was omitted, as unnecessary, from the phrase ' by all my Travels ' (II, p. 24, l. 4).

The mistakes occurring in this edition leave no doubt that the compositor had before him a correct text from which he strayed inadvertently. At IV, p. 29, ll. 2/3, Gulliver describes how his Houyhnhnm master tries to communicate with him ' by signs and words '. The compositor of this part of the second edition, probably with a familiar phrase in mind, set this up as ' by signs and wonders '. At IV, p. 92, ll. 4/5, his eye ran on ahead of his copy. The end of l. 4 in the first edition runs ' That he applies his ', and the end of l. 6 ' That he never tells '. After setting up ' That he ' of l. 4 the compositor's eye returned to the page at the same words of l. 6, and he set up incorrectly ' never tells '. On looking again at his copy he took the beginning of l. 5, ' Words to all Uses ', making nonsense of the phrase.

The evidence of the portrait, combined with the practice of economy in the use of paper, indicative of an earlier printed text upon which measurements for the whole could be calculated, together with the character of the alterations and mistakes which occur, make it certain that this edition of 1726 is second in the Motte series. And, as the table of variations shows, the octavo with continuous pagination must have been set up from the printed text of the second edition.[1]

The first edition was probably exhausted in a week,[2]

[1] Dr. Hubbard, *op. cit.*, p. 21, says of the continuous-pagination edition, ' It closely follows the text of the first edition.' But this seems to be true only in so far as the second edition also follows the text of the first edition.

[2] *Supra*, p. xxvii.

1726.				
Separate Pagination.				
Part.	*Page.*	*Line.*	*First Edition (8vo).*	*Second Edition (8vo).*
II	24	4	' by all my Travels '	' by my Travels '
II	62	13	' were '	' was '
II	63	17	Full stop	Note of Interrogation
III	144	13	' deprived '	' deprived '
III	Chap. XI		Nine Pages	Eight Pages
IV	29	2/3	' signs and words '	' signs and wonders '
IV	52	12	' represent '	' repreat '
IV	92	4/5	' That he applies his Words to all Uses '	' That he never tells Words to all Uses '
IV	165	13	' Necessaries '	' Necessities '

The page and line references are to the separately paged 8vo editions.

THE MOTTE EDITIONS

1726.	1727.	
Continuous Pagination.		*Separate Pagination.*
Third Edition (*8vo*).	*Fourth Edition* (*12mo*).	*Fifth Edition* (*8vo*).
' by my Travels '	' by Travels '	' by all my Travels '
' was '	' was '	' were '
Note of Interrogation	Note of Interrogation	Full stop
' deprived '	' deprived '	' despised '
Eight Pages	—	Nine Pages
' signs and wonders '	' signs and wonders '	' signs and words '
' repeat '	' repeat '	' represent '
' That he never tells Words to all Uses '	' That he never tells Words to all Uses '	' That he applies his Words to all Uses '
' Necessities '	' Necessities '	' Necessaries '

and the second must have followed closely upon its heels. Reference has been made to the serial publication of *Gulliver's Travels* in *Parker's Penny Post*.[1] The first instalment appeared in the issue of Monday, 28 November 1726, and the text used was that of the second edition. In Chap. II of Lilliput, for example, the form 'Subsidues', found only in the second edition, is printed; and other readings confirm the belief that when the editor of *Parker's Penny Post* decided to present his readers with an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the popular book of the day, the first edition was no longer on sale. As he must have resolved on publication at least several days before printing his first instalment, we may conclude that the second edition of *Gulliver's Travels* was issued within a few days of the middle of the month at the latest, and within less than three weeks of the first. Another piece of external evidence also helps to fix the date of publication.

Almost immediately upon the publication of *Gulliver's Travels* keys, or comments, began to appear. 'A Key, being Observations and *Explanatory* Notes upon the Travels of Lemuel Gulliver. By Signor Corolini, a noble *Venetian* now residing in *London*' has, perhaps,

[1] *Parker's Penny Post* appeared three times a week, on Monday, Wensday (*sic*), and Friday. It customarily contained—in addition to news—fiction and light reading, as, for example, '*Arabian Nights Entertainments*', '*The Story of the Lady* Cornelia', '*The Four Years Voyages of Capt.* Roberts'. The editor introduces *Gulliver's Travels* to his readers thus: 'The Travels of Capt. *Gulliver*, who was first a Surgeon, then a Captain of divers Ships, whereby he sail'd into several remote Parts of the World; which have been lately publish'd, having for their Variety of Wit and pleasant Diversion, become the general Entertainment of Town and Country, we will insert here in small Parcels, to oblige our Customers, who are otherwise, not capable of reading them at the Price they are sold.'

the distinction of being the first member of that large body of literature which now encompasses *Gulliver's Travels*. It is couched in the form of a letter addressed to Dean Swift, and was followed by three further letters, making, in all, one for each of the parts. One or more of these letters may frequently be found, bound in with the third of Motte's editions, either at the end of the second volume, or following separately upon each part.[1] The first letter is dated from 'St. *James's* Place, *Nov.* 18. 1726', and contains a commentary, chapter by chapter, upon the Voyage to Lilliput. On p. 16 the author observes that 'Mr. *Gulliver* was a Man of the strictest Veracity (as his Editor Mr. *Richard Sympson* affirms in his *Preface*, *pag.* vi)'. The reference is to a passage in 'The Publisher to the Reader', forming part of the preliminary matter of Volume I, and proves (if the page reference be correctly printed) that the commentator could not be using a copy of the first edition, in which this particular passage occurs on p. vii. If the date, '*Nov.* 18', appended to the letter, be accepted, we have an additional piece of evidence suggesting that the second edition was on sale within less than three weeks of the publication of the first. It may probably have been published between the 10th and the 15th of November.

Several distinguishing peculiarities of this edition have already been noted, and others may now be considered. It is sometimes supposed that the words, 'The Second Edition', appearing on the title-page of

[1] The four were also published together as a separate book, entitled *Lemuel Gulliver's Travels into several Remote Nations of the World. Compendiously methodized. . . . London: Printed in the Year MDCCXXVI. Price 2s. 6d.* This was apparently one of the acute Curll's ventures, though sold by his son during one of the vicissitudes in the career of his strenuous father.

Volume II, indicate that the two volumes are not of the same issue. These words, however, should also have been printed on the title-page of Volume I. The true mate to the first volume of this edition should carry the description 'The Second Edition'. Irregular combinations are, however, not infrequent. In some instances these are probably due to the bookseller uniting isolated volumes of different editions; in others the cross-mating seems to have been contemporaneous with publication. Volume II of this edition is sometimes found with the title-page of the third edition, i.e. without indication of edition, and with 'VOL. II.' for the first time. It may be surmised that an insufficient number of title-pages to the second volume was printed, and that Motte supplied the deficiency with title-pages of the third edition, which was in course of publication, placing the new title-page with the second volume of the edition next before that to which it properly belongs. Cross-combinations of Vol. I and Vol. II of the second and third editions occur; but these, whether of old or new standing, are neither of interest nor consequence.

Despite some attention to a more regularized spelling and a few minor corrections, the second edition was carelessly seen through the press, and was almost certainly a product of more than one printing-office. The variants from the printed text of the first edition are irregularly distributed. Reduced to percentages, the proportionate distribution of differences between the four parts is, approximately, Part I, 11; Part II, 34; Part III, 45; Part IV, 10.[1] In Vol. I, however,

[1] In calculating these differences no attention has been paid to the use of differing initial letters, or to head- and tail-pieces.

the ratio of differences between the printed text of the two editions does not follow the Voyage divisions of the narrative. This volume falls into four sections, revealed, on examination, by the use of different type. The first consists of pp. 1–52 inclusive of Part I; the second of p. 53, Part I, to p. 80 of Part II inclusive; the third of pp. 81–160 inclusive of Part II; and the fourth of the last two leaves of the volume, Part II, pp. 161–4. As might be expected, each of the first three sections ends with the last leaf of a signature. These sections are distinguished from each other not only by differences of type, but by the habits of the compositors in setting-up from the printed copy before them. The compositor of the first section, which extends to rather more than one-third of the Voyage to Lilliput, in proportion to the amount of copy allotted to him, makes changes three times more frequently than the compositor of the second. The compositor of the third section easily outstrips the other two, averaging about two alterations to a page, something like twice the number attained by the first compositor. The fourth section is too short to admit of useful comparison with the other three.

In Vol. II, Part III, many small changes from the copy are made, though not as frequently as in the third typographical section of Vol. I. In Part IV the alterations are, by comparison, few in number. The complete resetting of Chap. XI, Part III, has already been noticed.

In this volume three breaks in the normal process of minor variation from printed copy occur. On pp. 65 to 75 (F 1a–F 6a) of Part III no differences between the two editions appear, except, possibly, the intro-

duction of a comma in the second edition, and the correction of the number at the top of p. 74, which in the first edition is misnumbered 44. Some slight irregularities of type on these pages also exhibit a likeness; but it is curious that the identity does not extend to a full signature. At pp. 113–44, also of Part III, we meet with a complete correspondence of two entire signatures, I and K. The attention is arrested by noticing on p. 114 (ll. 6–7) the word 'singular' appearing as 'ngu-lar'. Further examination shows that for these two signatures the two editions are identical—text, ornamental initial letters, head-pieces, tail-pieces, are the same. In Part IV signature N and signature O–O 5a (pp. 177–99), that is the final twenty-three pages, are apparently identical in the two editions. On six of these twenty-three pages the identity extends to faulty and misaligned type. Only four, pp. 187, 190, 191, and possibly 194 exhibit differences of spelling or punctuation. There are, but doubtfully, one or two slight differences of spacing.

The natural presumption from these complete and partial correspondences is that, whereas most of the type of the first edition had been at once distributed, a small part belonging to Vol. II was still standing, and was used again, or that sheets remaining from the first edition were, with slight changes, used for the second. The fount of type used for Part III in both editions is the same, and in Part IV so nearly alike that the eye is not immediately conscious of any difference.

Dr. Hubbard [1] has pointed out that, on comparing several copies of the second edition with each other,

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 29–36.

a few small variants appeared. These, however, are no more than slight corrections made while the sheets of the book were passing through the press. They are not of such a character as to constitute distinct issues, consisting for the most part of an occasional corrected spelling, the substitution of good for faulty type, and the like.

13. THE THIRD EDITION

Before the end of the year Motte found that yet another edition of *Gulliver's Travels* was demanded. Apparently he had once more distributed his type, for otherwise he would hardly have incurred the expense of setting up a new edition which is not markedly an improvement upon the two preceding it. There are, however, fewer mistakes in spelling than are to be found in the two earlier editions, the capitalization of substantives is more consistent, and, apart from a few misreadings, in which it follows the second edition, the third of Motte's editions compares favourably with its two predecessors.[1]

The evidence already advanced proves not only the order of the two editions with separate pagination to each part, but shows conclusively that they were published before the edition continuously paged throughout each volume. If other arguments be disregarded, the plates bear witness to having been engraved to

[1] Misnumbered pages are, however, more frequent than in the two earlier editions. In Vol. I there are nineteen misnumberings, in Vol. II none. With the exception of page 68, misnumbered 66, all the misnumberings occur on two sheets of Part II. Perhaps this may be taken as an additional indication that the compositor was setting from a copy with separate pagination. In Part I he had only to follow the numeration before him; in Part II the numbers had to be altered throughout, and on two occasions he went astray.

accompany an edition with separate pagination, and were used with the edition now under consideration only because they were already in existence and available.[1] If the first edition was published on the 28th of October, and the second about the middle of November, the third may possibly have been issued early in December.

In this edition the portrait is in the second state. In neither volume does the general title-page give any indication of edition; but 'VOL. II.' appears for the first time on the title-page of the second volume. The distinguishing characteristic of the edition is the continuous pagination and continuous count by signatures throughout each volume. One fount of type has been used for the first three parts, but the fourth part is printed in a heavier type.

The separate title-page to Part I omits the printer's ornament found on the same title-page of the first and second editions, printing as an addition to this page, beneath the title of the book and between rules, the words, '*By Captain* Lemuel Gulliver'. The verso of this title-page is left blank, unlike that of the second edition, which uses it to contain part of 'The Contents' of Part I. But the space thus lost is regained by printing the Contents in small type and compressing them on a single leaf. The preliminary matter is thus retained within twelve pages, and the whole of Part I within ten complete signatures. In the third edition only eight of the preliminary pages are numbered, as against the twelve of the second edition.

In this edition an additional economy is effected in Vol. I. The latter pages of Chap. VI, Part II, are

[1] *Supra*, p. lix.

closed up a little, so that five lines which appear on p. 121 of the second edition are carried back to the previous page, and the whole chapter printed on twenty pages instead of twenty-one. By a similar expedient Chap. VII is confined to fifteen pages, as against the sixteen of the second edition. This explains the eighty-four leaves of Part II in the third edition, as compared with the eighty-five leaves of the other three octavo editions published by Motte. In Part III this edition follows the second with eighty leaves, as against the eighty-one of the other two octavo editions. In Part IV all the octavo editions have 104 leaves.

14. FOURTH OCTAVO EDITION

In 1727 Motte published two further editions, one an octavo, the other a duodecimo. The duodecimo was probably the earlier of the two, for it makes no pretence to adopt the Ford corrections incorporated in the octavo. It is difficult to believe that Motte, even when printing a cheaper edition in smaller format, would have neglected to set up his text from a revised and corrected edition, had that edition been in print. To print the small edition from a corrected text would have involved him in no additional expenditure: he was in possession of Ford's letter, and aware of Swift's dissatisfaction. The duodecimo may therefore be accepted as the fourth Motte edition of *Gulliver's Travels*, and the octavo of 1727 as the fifth; and, for convenience, it has been so named in the table on pp. lxvi, lxvii. It will, however, be more natural to discuss the octavo here, for purpose of comparison with the octavo editions of the preceding year.

The text and the arrangement of this edition repre-

sent a reversion to the first edition. A reference to the table on pp. lxvi, lxvii will give some indication of the nature of this return. Mistakes or alterations made in the second edition, and followed in the third, are not continued.[1] Each part is separately paged, and each part contains the same number of leaves as the first edition, except that the preliminary matter at the beginning of Vol. I is printed, as in the second and third editions, on twelve pages. Part III ends on p. 155, the leaf gained in the second edition thus being lost; and the economies practised in Chapters VI and VII of Part II in the third edition, whereby eighty-five leaves are reduced to eighty-four, are not followed. Although in this edition each part is separately paged, the signatures in Vol. I run continuously to the end of the volume, whereas in Vol. II each part is treated as a separate unit.

The general title-page to Vol. I, as stated before, calls this ' The Second Edition ', but Vol. II, probably with an eye on the title-page of the same volume in the second edition, is described as ' The Second Edition, Corrected '. The description is, in any case, inaccurate. Motte himself did not regard the three editions of 1726 merely as separate issues of a single edition, for one volume in the series was described as ' The Second Edition '. The word ' Corrected ' was intended to announce a more thorough revision of the text than had previously been attempted, and was justified by the incorporation of Ford's emendations.

[1] In smaller matters of detail, spelling, capitalization of substantives, the use of italics or roman type, the fourth octavo agrees with the first edition much more frequently than with either of the other two editions. In some particulars, however, it follows, without entire consistency, a method of its own.

This edition, like its predecessors, contains a portrait, four maps, and two plans. The portrait is found either in its second state, or in a third, retouched state. A single fount of type is used throughout each volume, but Vol. II is printed from a different and narrower-faced type than that used for Vol. I. Another peculiarity is the use of a specially large italic type for the chapter contents at the head of each chapter of Part III, except the last.

The title-page of Vol. I refers to ' Several Copies of Verses Explanatory and Commendatory ' prefixed to the volume. Copies occur with twenty-four pages of verses, others with only twenty.[1] These pages follow the leaf of the general title-page.

The fourth octavo published by Motte presented the best text of *Gulliver's Travels* until the appearance of Faulkner's edition of 1735. Ford's list of errata contained just over one hundred verbal and typographical corrections; and these, with two or three exceptions, were adopted by Motte in his new edition. He disregarded, however, Ford's strictures upon the passages in which the author's thought or language had been deliberately altered and distorted. These remained in their first printed form until the restitutions of Faulkner's edition.

15. MOTTE'S DUODECIMO EDITION

The general character and chief peculiarities of Motte's two duodecimo editions have been summarized already (pp. lv, lvi); and a reference to the table on pp. lxvi, lxvii will show that the duodecimo of 1727 was, both in text and arrangement, based on the third

[1] *Infra*, pp. xc, xci.

octavo edition. It was published for readers unable, or unwilling, to pay the price of the larger book. As indicated above, it almost certainly preceded the octavo of the same year, and may be counted the fourth of Motte's editions. Some copies of Vol. I embody, in the preliminary matter, twelve pages of prefatory verses, but these are not, as in the fourth octavo edition, mentioned on the title-page, and may be regarded as an afterthought. The verses are printed on a 1a–a 6b, following upon A 6 ('The Contents' of Part I), and preceding the map, followed by the text beginning with signature B. They have every appearance of being an insertion. Earlier copies were issued for sale without the verses; others, following upon the fourth octavo, included a later printing of six leaves of verses.

On the separate title-pages to Parts I and II the date is inaccurately printed MDCXXVII.

Two founts of type were used, one for each volume. A normal page of Vol. I contains thirty-two lines; a normal page of Vol. II, thirty-one lines.

The text presents no features for special remark. The compositor followed a copy of the third edition without attempt at revision or correction, unless in the case of obvious typographical errors. A curious exception is the alteration of 'scratch' to 'search', Vol. II, p. 212, l. 14, one of the corrections which appears in Ford's list of errata. No explanation of this exception seems to be forthcoming.

In 1731 Motte made up from the same sheets, with new title-pages, a second duodecimo issue. By an oversight the old separate title-page to Part I, with the date 1727, inaccurately printed MDCXXVII, was retained.[1]

[1] The separate title-page to Part I does not appear in all copies.

16. THE MAPS

There is no evidence to show whether or not Swift was responsible for that touch of realism added to his narrative by the four maps. The suggestion may have come from him; but, as he never saw proofs of the text, the plates were almost certainly engraved without reference to the author of the *Travels*.

We are not to take these maps seriously; but it may be of interest to note mistakes and inconsistencies. Gulliver gives the name of the capital of Lilliput as 'Mildendo': on the map prefixed to Part I it appears as 'Mendendo'. If, further, the measurements of that part of the island of Sumatra shown be noted, Lilliput and Blefuscu are drawn on a scale too large. Lilliput extends to much more than 'five thousand *Blustrugs*, (about twelve Miles in Circumference)'; and the channel between the two islands, across which Gulliver waded, is wider by far than 'eight hundred Yards'.

The scale of Plate II is equally at fault. In Chapter IV the dominions of the King of Brobdingnag are said to extend 'six thousand Miles in Length, and from three to five in Breadth'. The engraver, if we follow the scale on which he has drawn in rough outline part of the coast of North America, represents Brobdingnag as being about four hundred and fifty by three hundred miles.

The travels described by Gulliver in Part III are more difficult to chart, and if the scale of the Flying Island seems disproportionate, the engraver may well be forgiven; but, as Dr. Hubbard notes,[1] in several particulars he departs widely from the narrative he is

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 93, 94.

supposed to illustrate. At the beginning of Chapter V (as also on a previous page) the Kingdom of Balnibarbi is described as part of a continent. On the map it is shown as an island. In the same paragraph Luggnagg is said to be north-west of Balnibarbi and south-south-east of Japan. On the map Luggnagg is placed south-west of Balnibarbi and south-east of Japan. The port by which Gulliver leaves Balnibarbi is named, in the next paragraph, as Maldonada, but the map transfers Maldonada to Luggnagg, and, in consequence, ' the little Island of *Glubbdubdrib*, about five Leagues off to the South-West ', is carried away with it. The reader who has not had his attention drawn to these ' gross Errors ' of the engraver, will be puzzled if he tries to follow Gulliver's movements by a reference to the map.

17. OTHER EARLY EDITIONS

In the two years during which Motte published five editions four further editions of *Gulliver's Travels* appeared within the United Kingdom, two in London and two in Dublin. A serial issue in *Parker's Penny Post* has been described. An abridged version was published in London in 1727: ' Printed for J. Stone, against *Bedford Row*, and R. King, at the *Prince's Arms* in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard.' This is a poorly printed duodecimo, and, as an abridgement, a worthless, journeyman piece of work. The editor, apparently, was following the text of Motte's first edition. Some copies contain a portrait; there is a general title-page, and a separate title-page to Part II. The four parts are in one volume, but the page numbering is divided as for two volumes.

In 1726 a cheaply produced duodecimo edition ap-

peared in Dublin: ' Printed by and for J. Hyde, Bookseller in *Dame's Street*.' The two volumes are in one, and paged consecutively as if for one volume. It contains four maps and two plans; and the text was set up from a copy of Motte's first edition. In the following year another Dublin edition was ' Printed for G. Risk, G. Ewing, and W. Smith in *Dame-street*.' This is a small octavo, printed in half-sheets. Each part is separately paged. It contains the four maps and two plans, and a portrait fairly closely copied from the second state of the Motte portrait.

None of these pirated editions has any authority, nor is their text of any value. Risk's edition, although dated 1727, is indifferent to the corrections of Motte's fourth octavo. The printer, however, was sufficiently observant to change 'Lilliput' to 'Blefuscu' towards the end of the concluding chapter of Part I.[1] And, curiously enough, in Chap. X of Part III the incorrect 'deprived' of all the Motte editions before the fourth octavo is changed to the correct ' despised ' in Hyde's edition.[2]

Further details relative to these editions will be found in the Collations.

18. FAULKNER AND BATHURST

Apparently Motte succeeded in satisfying the immediate public demand with his two editions of 1727. Four years later he reissued his duodecimo edition, and there followed another pause, broken by the publication of Faulkner's edition of 1735, with its revised text. The challenge was not taken up by Motte, and Faulkner was content to publish in the same year another edition in twelves, and in 1738 an octavo edition with a few

[1] See Appendix I.

[2] See Notes on Part III, Chap. X.

corrections. In 1742 Bathurst, Motte's successor, came into the field. Between that year and 1772 inclusive, the date of Faulkner's final edition, the two publishers issued at least sixteen editions of *Gulliver's Travels* Twelve of these bore Bathurst's imprint.

It is a story of rivalry between the two publishers, accentuated in 1755, as has been noted already, when Bathurst enlisted the services of Hawkesworth as editor of a handsomely produced quarto edition of the Dean's *Works*. In his small octavo edition of 1742 Bathurst adopted Ford's corrections, but not always, and he also laid Faulkner's text under contribution. Later Hawkesworth, as champion of Bathurst against the rival Dublin printer, quietly retained, or appropriated, a large number of Faulkner's readings.[1] Faulkner, on the contrary, in his final editions of the *Travels* (1759 and 1772) relinquished some of his readings, and altered others in which the original Motte text was followed, in deference to Hawkesworth's criticism. Examples of these concessions to Hawkesworth will be found on reference to the Notes—Part I, Chap. VI; Part II, Chaps. VI and VIII. Faulkner, however, would have been better advised to disregard Hawkesworth, who was not only trivial and wanting in perception, but subject to extraordinary aberration. On p. 6 of his Preface to the quarto edition of 1755 he takes Faulkner to task for describing Gulliver's residence among the Houyhnhnms as lasting for five years, instead of three, and in his own text prints ' my five years residence there ' ! (Part IV, Chap. XI.)

The Collations furnish additional information relative to the editions published by Faulkner and Bathurst.

[1] Reference is made to many of these readings in the Notes.

COLLATIONS AND NOTES

LIST OF LIBRARIES CONTAINING EDITIONS RECORDED

1. British Museum, London . . . . BM
2. Bodleian Library, Oxford . . . . BLO
3. University Library, Cambridge . . . . ULC
4. Forster Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington . . . . . Forst.
5. Guildhall Library, London . . . . Guild.
6. University of Michigan, General Library (Hubbard Collection) . . . . . Hubbard

References to libraries are arranged in the order given above. The absence of a reference higher in the list denotes that the edition is not to be found in that library; but the want of a lower reference is not to be taken as indicating that no copy is contained in the library omitted.

COLLATIONS AND NOTES

FULL collations are here given of the more important of the early editions of *Gulliver's Travels*. The notes following the collations must necessarily repeat information which appears in the preceding pages of the Introduction; but, for convenience of reference, it seemed advisable to recapitulate briefly distinctive peculiarities of certain editions.

THE MOTTE EDITIONS

1.

Title within double lines: Travels | into Several | Remote Nations | of the | World. | [rule] In Four Parts. | [rule] By Lemuel Gulliver, | First a Surgeon, and then a Cap-|tain of several Ships. | [rule] Vol. I. | [rule] London: | *Printed for* Benj. Motte, *at the* | *Middle* Temple-Gate *in* Fleet-street. | MDCCXXVI. 1726
8vo. L.P. 22·5 cm.; S.P. 19·5 cm.

Collation: Vol. I. Part I. A–K^{8}, L^{2}; 82 leaves; ends on p. 148.
Part II. [A]^{3}, B–L^{8}, M^{2}; 85 leaves; ends on p. 164.
Vol. II. Part III. A^{3}, B–K^{8}, L^{4}, M^{3}; 81 leaves; ends on p. 155.
Part IV. A^{4}, B–N^{8}, O^{4}; 104 leaves; ends on p. 199.

Contents: Vol. I. A 1a general title; A 1b blank; A 2a general contents; A 2b blank; A 3a–A 5a *The Publisher to the Reader*; A 5b blank; A 6a title to Part I; A 6b blank; A 7a–A 8b contents of Part I; B 1a–L 2b text of Part I; [A] 1a title to Part II; [A] 1b blank; [A] 2a–[A] 3b contents of Part II; B 1a–M 2b text of Part II.
Vol. II. A 1a general title; A 1b blank; A 2a–A 3b contents of Part III; B 1a–L 4b, M 1a–M 2a text of Part III; M 2b blank; A 1a title to Part IV; A 1b blank; A 2a–A 4b contents of Part IV; B 1a–O 4a text of Part IV; O 4b blank.

Plates: Portrait facing general title to Vol. I; four maps, one facing p. 1 of each Part; in Part III two plans, one to show movement of the Flying Island, between D 3 and D 4, facing p. 39, the other a figure of the word machine, between F 5 and F 6, facing p. 74.

In this edition the portrait appears in the first state. The oval round the portrait is blank, and the inscription, ' Captain Lemuel Gulliver, of | Redriff Ætat. suæ 58.' appears in two lines below the oval. Copies of this edition on small paper occur with the portrait in the second state.

Notes: The first edition appeared both on large and small paper.

There are twenty-five lines of text to a normal page in either volume. The text of Vol. I is printed throughout from the same fount; Vol. II is printed in a uniform but larger type.

Each Part of the text is separately paged. The preliminary pages before the text of Part I number sixteen. Preliminary pages before each of the following three Parts (as also in subsequent Motte 8vo editions) six, six, and eight respectively.

Each Part has a separate title-page, with the exception of Part III, which is covered by a general title-page to Parts III and IV.

P. 74 of Part III is misnumbered 44; p. 62 of Part IV is misnumbered 26. In this, all the Motte editions, and some others, the seventh chapter of Part III is misnumbered ' CHAP. V.'

BM, BLO, ULC, Forst.

2.

Title within double lines: The general title-page to Vol. I of the first edition was also used for this, the second edition.

8vo. 19·5 cm.

Collation: Vol. I. Part I. A–K^{8}; 80 leaves; ends on p. 148.
Part II. [A]^{3}, B–L^{8}, M^{2}; 85 leaves; ends on p. 164.
Vol. II. Part III. A^{3}, B–K^{8}, L^{5}; 80 leaves; ends on p. 154.
Part IV. A^{4}, B–N^{8} O^{4}; 104 leaves; ends on p. 199.

Contents: Vol. I. A 1a general title; A 1b blank; A 2a general contents; A 2b–A 4b *The Publisher to the Reader*; A 5a title to Part I; A 5b–A 6b contents of Part I; A 7a–K 8b text of Part I; [A] 1a title to Part II; [A] 1b blank; [A] 2a–[A] 3b contents of Part II; B 1a–M 2b text of Part II.

Vol. II. A 1a general title; A 1b blank; A 2a–A 3b contents of Part III; B 1a–L 5b text of Part III; A 1a title to Part IV; A 1b blank; A 2a–A 4b contents of Part IV; B 1a–O 4a text of Part IV; O 4b blank.

Plates: Portrait, four maps, and two plans, placed as in the first edition. In this edition the portrait is in the second state, with the inscription round the oval, and below appear two lines from Persius, *Sat.* ii. 73, 74.

Notes: The second edition was published on small paper only.

The normal page contains twenty-five lines. Vol. I falls into four typographical divisions: Part I, pp. 1–52; Part I, p. 53–Part II, p. 80; Part II, pp. 81–160; Part II, pp. 161–4.

Each Part is separately paged. The preliminary pages before Part I number twelve. Chap. XI of Part III occupies only 8 pp., against the 9 pp. of the first edition, and thus Part III ends on p. 154, instead of p. 155.

The three title-pages of Vol. I are identical with those of the first edition. The title-pages of Vol. II have been reset. Copies of Vol. II occur with two differing general title-pages. The true title-page of Vol. I of this edition has 'The Second Edition' between rules, below 'A Voyage to the Houyhnhnms'; the other, which belongs properly to the third edition, has 'Vol. II.', between rules, below '*By Captain* Lemuel Gulliver.'

BM, Forst.

3.

Title within double lines: Travels | into Several | Remote Nations | of the | World. | [rule] In Four Parts. | [rule] By Lemuel Gulliver, | first a Surgeon, and then a Captain | of several Ships. | [rule] Vol. I. | [rule] London: | *Printed for* Benj.

Motte, *at the Middle* | Temple-Gate *in* Fleet-street. | M,DCC,XXVI.
8vo. 19·5 cm.

Collation: Vol. I. Part I. A–K^{8}; 80 leaves; ends on p. 148.
Part II. L$_{3}$, M–X^{8}, Y^{1}; 84 leaves; ends on p. 310.
Vol. II. Part III. A$_{3}$, B–K^{8}, L$_{5}$; 80 leaves; ends on p. 154.
Part IV. M–Z^{8}, Aa^{8}; 104 leaves; ends on p. 353.

Contents: Vol. I. A 1a general title; A 1b blank; A 2a general contents; A 2b–A 4b *The Publisher to the Reader*; A 5a title to Part I; A 5b blank; A 6 contents of Part I; A 7a–K 8b text of Part I; L 1a title to Part II; L 1b blank; L 2a–L 3b contents of Part II; M 1a–Y 1b text of Part II.
Vol. II. A 1a general title; A 1b blank; A 2a–A 3b contents of Part III; B 1a–L 5b text of Part III; M 1a title to Part IV; M 1b blank; M 2a–M 4b contents of Part IV; M 5a–Aa 8a text of Part IV. Aa 8b blank.

Plates: The portrait is in the second state. Four maps and two plans, as in the first and second editions.

Notes: Twenty-five lines to a page. Parts I—III set from one fount; Part IV is printed from a heavier type.

There are twelve preliminary pages before the text of Part I—the first eight only numbered. The page numeration is consecutive to the end of each volume. In Part II, Chap. VI is printed on 20 pages instead of 21, and Chap. VII is printed on 15 pages instead of the 16 pages of the first, second, and fourth 8vo editions. Part II is thus compressed within 84 leaves, instead of 85.

The title-pages are similar to, but not identical with those of the two preceding editions. The chief differences are the omission of the printer's ornament from the separate title to Part I, its place being taken by the words, '*By Captain* Lemuel Gulliver'; and the appearance of 'Vol. II.', for the first time, on the general title of the second volume.

In Vol. I 19 pages are incorrectly numbered. In Part I p. 68 is misnumbered 66; the other mis-

numberings occur on two sheets, N and Q, of Part II. In Vol. II there are no misnumberings.

One or more parts of 'A Key . . . by Signor Corolini' will frequently be found bound in with this edition.

BM (Vol. I only), ULC, Forst.

4.

Title within double lines: Travels | into Several | Remote Nations | of the | World. | [rule] In Four Parts. | [rule] By Lemuel Gulliver, | first a Surgeon, and then a Captain | of several Ships. | [rule] Vol. I. | [rule] London: | *Printed for* Benj. Motte, *at the Middle* | Temple-Gate *in* Fleet-street. | M,DCC,XXVII. 1727

12mo. 15·5 cm.

Collation: Vol. I. Parts I and II. A^6, (a^6), B–M^{12}; 144 leaves; Part I ends on p. 121, Part II on p. 264.

Vol. II. Parts III and IV. A^3, B–M^{12}, N^3; 138 leaves; Part III ends on p. 117, Part IV on p. 269.

Contents: Vol. I. A 1a general title; A 1b blank; A 2a general contents; A 2b blank; A 3a–A 4b *The Publisher to the Reader*; A 5a title to Part I; A 5b blank; A 6 contents of Part I; (a 1a–a 6b verses); B 1a–G 1a text of Part I; G 1b blank; G 2a title to Part II; G 2b blank; G 3a–G 4b contents of Part II; G 5a–M 12b text of Part II.

Vol. II. A 1a general title; A 1b blank; A 2 contents of Part III; B 1a–F 11a text of Part III; F 11b blank; F 12a title to Part IV; F 12b blank; G 1a–G 2b contents of Part IV; G 3a–N 3a text of Part IV; N 3b blank.

Plates: No portrait. Four maps, two plans, and four illustrations. The illustrations face Part I, p. 7; Part II, p. 138; Part III, p. 11; Part IV, p. 131. The plan of the Flying Island is inserted with the map before p. 1 of Part III.

Notes: Two founts of type were used, one for each volume. The pagination is continuous in each volume.

The title-pages do not state this as being any edition. On the separate titles to Parts I and II the date appears as MDCXXVII. As in the third 8vo, the words '*By Captain* Lemuel Gulliver' appear on the title-page to Part I; and the contents of Part I are compressed on a single leaf. As also in the third 8vo the end of Vol. I has '*The End of the First Volume.*'

Some copies contain twelve pages of prefatory verses, i.e. five poems, as in the complete 8vo edition of 1727. These were probably a later printing.

Vol. I, p. 3 is not numbered; p. 92 is misnumbered 62.

BM, ULC.

5.

Title within double lines: Travels | into Several | Remote Nations | of the | World. | [rule] In Four Parts. | [rule] By Lemuel Gulliver, | First a Surgeon, and then a Captain | of several Ships. | [rule] To which are prefix'd, | Several Copies of Verses Expla- | planatory and Commendatory; never be- | fore printed. | [rule] Vol. I. | [rule] The Second Edition. | [rule] London: | *Printed for* Benj. Motte, at the Middle | Temple-Gate *in* Fleet-street. MDCCXXVII.

8vo. 19·5 cm.

Collation: Vol. I. Part I. a^7, b^4 (or b^6), A 2–A 8, B–K^8; 90 or 92 leaves, inclusive of 20 or 24 pp. of verses; ends on p. 148.

Part II. L–U^8, X^4, Y^1; 85 leaves; ends on p. 164.

Vol. II. Part III. A^3, B–K^8, L^4, M^2; 81 leaves; ends on p. 155.

Part IV. A^4, B–N^8, O^4; 104 leaves; ends on p. 199.

Contents: Vol. I. a 1a general title; a 1b blank; a 2a–a 3b *To Quinbus Flestrin the Man-Mountain, An Ode. By Titty Tit, Esq; Poet Laureat to his Majesty of Lilliput. Translated into English.*; a 4a–a 6a *The Lamentation of Glumdalclitch for the Loss of Grildrig. A Pastoral.*; a 6b–a 7b *To Mr. Lemuel Gulliver, The Grateful Address of the Unhappy Houyhnhnms, now in*

Slavery and Bondage in England.; b 1a–b 4b *Mary Gulliver to Capt. Lemuel Gulliver*; *An Epistle.*; b 5a–b 6b *The Words of the King of Brobdingnag, As he held Captain Gulliver between his Finger and Thumb for the Inspection of the Sages and Learned Men of the Court*; A 2a general contents; A 2b–A 4b *The Publisher to the Reader*; A 5a title to Part I; A 5b–A 6b contents of Part I; A 7a–K 8b text of Part I; L 1a title to Part II; L 1b blank; L 2a–L 3b contents of Part II; L 4a–Y 1b text of Part II.

Vol. II. A 1a general title; A 1b blank; A 2a–A 3b contents of Part III; B 1a–M 2a text of Part III; M 2b blank; A 1a title to Part IV; A 1b blank; A 2a–A 4b contents of Part IV; B 1a–O 4a text of Part IV; O 4b blank.

Plates: The portrait is in either the second or third state. Four maps and two plans, as in the previous 8vo editions.

Notes: Vol. I is printed with a type rather larger in appearance than that used for Vol. II. A fount of specially large italic type was used for the chapter contents at the head of each chapter (except the last) of Part III.

The preliminary pages before Part I, exclusive of the verses, number twelve. Some copies have twenty, others twenty-four pages of verses. Each Part is separately paged. The number of pages to each Part corresponds with the first edition. In Vol. I the signatures run consecutively through the volume; in Vol. II (as in the first and second editions) each Part is treated as a separate unit.

On the title-page of Vol. I this edition is called 'The Second Edition'; on the title-page of Vol. II, 'The Second Edition, Corrected.' The words '*By Captain* Lemuel Gulliver' do not appear on the separate title-page to Part II, as they do in the earlier Motte editions. 'Vol. II.' appears on the title-page of Vol. II.

Copies may contain, facing the general title-page of Vol. II, a leaf with an advertisement, on the verso, of ' Books printed for *Benj. Motte.*'
BM, BLO, ULC, Forst.

6.

1731 A 12mo reissue of 1731, made up from sheets of the 1727 12mo edition. With the exception of the separate title to Part I the title-pages have been reset. The old separate title to Part I is retained with the inaccurate date, MDCXXVII. On the general title-page to Vol. I 'Benjamin' is printed in full, as against the contracted form, ' Benj.' on the corresponding title-page of the five previous editions.
Plates: As in the 12mo edition of 1727.
BM, BLO.

NOTE

Only four further editions of *Gulliver's Travels* appear to have been published in the United Kingdom contemporaneously with the Motte editions—two (one a serial issue) in London, and two in Dublin. None of these has any textual importance. These, and all the Motte editions, save one, bear dates 1726 or 1727. Between 1727 and 1735, the year of the publication of Faulkner's first edition, no edition of *Gulliver's Travels* appeared, with the exception of Motte's second 12mo.

OTHER LONDON EDITIONS: 1726–7

1.

1726 –27 In *Parker's Penny Post*, a paper which appeared three times weekly, on Monday, Wensday (*sic*), and Friday, *Gulliver's Travels* was printed serially, beginning in No. 246, Monday, November 28, 1726, and concluding in No. 390, Friday, November 3, 1727.
Notes: The serial instalments were adapted to the space available each day. Chap. I of Lilliput, for example, is divided over three numbers.
The text was set from a copy of Motte's second edition.
BM.

2.

1727 *Title*: Travels | into Several | Remote Nations | of the | World. | [rule] *By Capt.* Lemuel Gulliver. | [rule] *Faithfully Abridged.* | [rule] Ornament: Double Cornucopia | [rule]

London: | Printed for J. Stone, against *Bedford Row*, and | R. King, at the *Prince's Arms* in St. *Paul's* | Church-Yard. MDCCXXVII.

12mo. 16·2 cm.

Collation: Vol. I. Parts I and II. A,^{7} B–G^{12}, H^{8}; 85 leaves; Part I ends on p. 67, Part II on p. 159.

Vol. II. Parts III and IV. B–H^{12}, I^{4}; 88 leaves; Part III ends on p. 100, Part IV on p. 175.

Contents: Vol. I. A 1a general title; A 1b blank; A 2a–A 3b *The Publisher of the Abridgment to the Reader*; A 4a–A 7b *A Key and Compleat Index to Captain Gulliver's Travels* (or, in some copies, A 4a–A 4b only, contents of Part I); B 1a–D 10a text of Part I; D 10b blank; D 11a title of Part II; D 11b blank; D 12a–E 1b contents [of Part II]; E 2a–H 8a text of Part II; H 8b blank.

Vol. II. B 1a–F 2b text of Part III; F 3a–I 4a text of Part IV; I 4b blank.

Plates: Portrait, in some copies, facing general title. No maps or plans.

Notes: No separate titles, except that to Part II.

Apparently abridged from a copy of the first Motte edition, reducing the length of the text by about one half. A poor and clumsy piece of work. In *The Publisher of the Abridgment to the Reader* the right of abridgment is maintained, despite opposition from the ' Proprietor of the Original '. The writer further explains that the abridgment is intended for readers unable to meet the cost of the original editions, that immodest and indecent passages have been omitted, that trivial circumstances have been reduced to narrower compass.

BM, Hubbard.

DUBLIN EDITIONS: 1726–7

1.

Title within double lines: Travels | into Several | Remote Nations | of the | World. | [rule] In Four Parts. | [rule] By 1726

Lemuel Gulliver, First a Surgeon, | and then a Captain | of several Ships. | [rule] Vol. I. | [rule] *In this Impression, several* Errors *in the* | London *Edition are Corrected.* | [rule] Dublin: Printed by and for J. Hyde, Book- | seller in *Dame's Street*, 1726.

12mo. 16·5 cm.

Collation: A^{6}, B–F^{12}, G^{9}, H–M^{12}, N^{11}; 143 leaves; ends on p. 274.

Contents: Vol. I. A 1a title to Vol. I; A 1b blank; A 2a–A 3a *The Publisher to the Reader*; A 3b blank; A 4 contents of Part I; A 5 contents of Part II; A 6 blank; B 1a–D 7b text of Part I; D 8a–G 6a text of Part II; G 6b blank.

Vol. II. G 7a title to Vol. II; G 7b blank; G 8a–G 9b contents of Parts III and IV; H 1a–K 8a text of Part III; K 8b blank; K 9a–N 11b text of Part IV.

Plates: Portrait lacking? Four maps and two plans.

Note: Set from a copy of the first Motte edition. Hubbard.

2.

1727 *Title*: Travels | into Several | Remote Nations | of the | World. | [rule] In Four Parts, *viz.* | Part I. A Voyage to Lilliput. | Part II. A Voyage to Brobdingnag. | Part III. A Voyage to Laputa, Bal- | nibarbi, Luggnagg, Glubdub- | drib and Japan. | Part IV. A Voyage to the Country of the | Houyhnhnms. | [rule] By Lemuel Gulliver, | First a Surgeon, and then a Captain of Several Ships. | [rule] With Cuts and Maps of the Author's Travels. | [rule] Dublin: | Printed for G. Risk, G. Ewing, and | W. Smith in *Dame-street*, MDCCXXVII.

8vo. 17 cm.

Collation: Part I. A–I^{4}, K^{2}; 38 leaves; ends on p. 68.
Part II. [A]^{2}, B^{2}, C–L^{4}; 40 leaves; ends on p. 75.
Part III. [A]^{2}, B–L^{4}; 42 leaves; ends on p. 79.
Part IV. [A]^{3}, B–M^{4}; 47 leaves; ends on p. 88.

Contents: A 1a general title; A 1b blank; A 2 *The Publisher to the Reader*; A 3a title to Part I; A 3b blank; A 4 contents of Part I; B 1a–K 2b text of Part I; [A] 1a title to Part II; [A] 1b blank; [A] 2 contents of Part II; B 1a–L 4a text of Part II; L 4b blank; [A] 1a title to Parts III and IV; [A] 1b blank; [A] 2 contents of Part III; B 1a–L 4a text of Part

III; L 4b blank; [A] 1a title to Part IV; [A] 1b blank; [A] 2a–[A] 3b contents of Part IV; B 1a–M 4b text of Part IV.

Plates: Portrait copied from the second state of the Sheppard engraving, facing general title; four maps, one facing first page of the text of each Part; plan of the Flying Island between D 1 and D 2, facing p. 19 of Part III; plan of word machine between F 2 and F 3, facing p. 36 of Part III.

Notes: Each Part is separately paged. In Part I, p. 51 is misnumbered 52, p. 63 is misnumbered 65, p. 64 is misnumbered 66.

In Part III the Motte mistake of numbering Chap. VII as Chap. V is continued.

The text follows Motte's first edition. Neither Ford's nor the 1727 8vo corrections are adopted. BM.

THE FAULKNER EDITIONS

1.

Title: Volume III. | of the Author's | Works. | Containing, | Travels | into Several | Remote Nations of the World. | In Four Parts, *viz.* 1735

I. A Voyage to Lilliput.
II. A Voyage to Brobdingnag.
III. A Voyage to Laputa, Balnibarbi, Luggnagg, Glubbdubdrib and Japan.
IV. A Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms.

[rule] By Lemuel Gulliver, first a Surgeon, | and then a Captain of several Ships. | [rule] — — *Retroq;* | *Vulgus abhorret ab his.* | [rule] In this Impression several Errors in the *London* and *Dublin* | Editions are corrected. | [rule] Dublin: | Printed by and for George Faulkner, Printer | and Bookseller, in *Essex-Street,* opposite to the | Bridge. M DCC XXXV.

8vo. 19·5 cm.

Collation: [?]^{2}, *$_{*}$*^{4}, A^{4}, B–Z^{8}, Aa–Cc^{8}, Dd^{2}; 212 leaves; ends on p. 404.

Contents: [?] 1a title; [?] 1b blank; [?] 2a *Advertisement*; [?] 2b blank; *$_{*}$* 1a–*$_{*}$* 3b *A Letter from Capt. Gulliver to his Cousin Sympson*; *$_{*}$*4 *The Publisher to the Reader*;

A 1a–A 4b contents; B 1a–Cc 4a text; Cc 4b–Cc 5b *To Quinbus Flestrin . . .* ; Cc 6a–Cc 7b *The Lamentation of Glumdalclitch . . .* ; Cc 8a–Dd 2b *Mary Gulliver to Capt. Lemuel Gulliver.*

Plates: The portrait of Gulliver is new—the face inclined in the opposite direction. The inscription beneath the portrait runs, ' Capt. Lemuel Gulliver | *Splendide Mendax. Hor.*' No inscription on the oval round the portrait. The four maps appear, and the two plans.

Notes: This is the third volume of *The Works of J. S. D.D, D.S.P.D. In Four Volumes.* Although the title-page of the first volume thus ascribes the *Works*, the inscription beneath the portrait of Swift by Vertue runs, ' The Reverend Dr. J. Swift D.S^{t}.P.D.'

There are no separate title-pages.

B 2 is signed A 2; p. 250 is misnumbered 251, and 251 misnumbered 250; 285 is misnumbered 283; 330 is misnumbered 310; 331 is misnumbered 311; 334 is misnumbered 314; 335 is misnumbered 315. Chap. V of Part II is misnumbered III; and the Motte mistake of numbering Chap. VII of Part III as V is continued.

The longer Ford restorations of text are incorporated in this edition for the first time, and many new readings are introduced.

BM, BLO, Forst.

2.

In the same year Faulkner published a 12mo edition of the *Works*. The title-page of Vol. III, *Gullivers Travels*, nearly corresponds with that of the 8vo edition. Pp. xx+336. Portrait, four maps, two plans, and verses.

12mo. 16·5 cm.

Hubbard.

3.

1738 *Title*: Reset, but reads similarly to the 1735 8vo edition, save that no reference is made to the London and Dublin editions, and the imprint runs, ' Dublin: | Printed by and for George Faulkner. | M,DCC,XXX,VIII.'

8vo. 19·5 cm.

Collation: [?]^{3}, *$_{*}$*^{4}, A^{4}, B–Z^{8}, Aa^{8}, Bb^{7}; 201 leaves; ends on p. 382.

Contents: Preliminary leaves as in the edition of 1735; B 1a–Bb 1a text; Bb 1b–Bb 7b verses as in the edition of 1735.

Plates: Portrait, not that of the 1735 edition; four maps and two plans.

Notes: Vol. III of *The Works of J. S, D.D, D.S.P.D. In Six Volumes*. Portrait in Vol. I as in the 1735 edition.
BLO, ULC.

4.

Title: Corresponds with that of the 1735 8vo, save that there is no reference to the London and Dublin editions, and the imprint appears as 'Dublin: | Printed by and for George Faulkner, in | *Essex-street*, opposite to the Bridge. | [rule] MDCCXLIII.' 1743

8vo. 19·5 cm.

Collation and *Contents*: Same as in the 1738 8vo, save that A^8 covers the *Letter to Sympson*, *The Publisher to the Reader*, and the contents.

Plates: Portrait, as in the 1735 edition; four maps and two plans.

Notes: Vol. III of the *Works* in eight volumes. Vol. I, dated 1746, has Swift's name in full on the title-page.
BM.

5.

Vol. III of a 12mo edition of the *Works*. The title follows the pattern of the previous Faulkner editions. Reference is made to the correction of errors in the 'former London and Dublin Editions'. 1752

Pp. xix (and iii of book-advertisements)+302. Portrait as in the 12mo of 1735, four maps, and two plans.

Chap. VII of Part III is misnumbered Chap. VI.

12mo. 17 cm.
Hubbard.

6.

Title: Volume III. | of the | Author's Works. | Containing | Travels | into Several | Remote Nations of the World. | In Four Parts. | 1759

I. A Voyage to Lilliput.
II. A Voyage to Brobdingnag.
III. A Voyage to Laputa, Balnibarbi, Luggnagg, Glubbdubdrib, and Japan.
IV. A Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms.

[rule] By Lemuel Gulliver, first a Surgeon, | and then a Captain of several Ships. | [rule] —— *Retroq*; | *Vulgus abhorret ab his.* | [double rule] Dublin: | Printed by George Faulkner, in Essex-street. | MDCCLIX.

8vo. 21 cm.

Collation: A^8, b^6, B–Z^8, Aa–Cc^8, Dd^6; 220 leaves; ends on p. 412.

Contents: A 1a title; A 1b blank; A 2a Advertisement; A 2b blank; A 3a–A 6a *A Letter from Capt. Gulliver to his Cousin Sympson*; A 6b–A 7b *The Publisher to the Reader*; A 8a–b 6a contents; b 6b blank; B 1a–Cc 8a text; Cc 8b–Dd 1b *To Quinbus Flestrin, the Man-Mountain. A Lilliputian Ode*; Dd 2a–Dd 3b *The Lamentation of Glumdalclitch for the Loss of Grildrig*; Dd 4a–Dd 6b *Mary Gulliver, to Capt. Lemuel Gulliver.*

Plates: Portrait, as in the 1738 8vo; four maps and two plans.

Notes: Vol. III of an irregularly dated (1752–70) set of the *Works* in 20 volumes. Vol. I is dated 1768.

In several instances, in deference to Hawkesworth's criticisms in the Preface of the 1755 edition of the *Works* published by Bathurst, Faulkner reverted to the Motte readings, or adopted new readings.

ULC.

7.

1772 *Title*: The | Works | of the Reverend | Dr. Jonathan Swift, | Dean of *St. Patrick*'s, Dublin | Containing, | The Travels of | Lemuel Gulliver, first a Surgeon, | and then a Captain of several Ships. | Into Several | Remote Nations of the World. | In Four Parts. |

I. A Voyage to Lilliput.
II. A Voyage to Brobdingnag.
III. A Voyage to Laputa, Balnibarbi, Luggnagg, Glubbdubdrib, and Japan.
IV. A Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms.

—— Retroq; | Vulgus abhorret ab his. | [rule] Vol. III. | [rule] Ornamental Initial letters within a double circle | [rule] Dublin: | Printed by George Faulkner. | M DCC LXXII.

8vo. 19·5 cm.

Collation and *Contents*: As in the 1759 edition.

Plates: As in the 1759 edition.

Notes: Vol. III of the *Works* in 20 volumes, and the last edition of *Gulliver's Travels* published by Faulkner. This volume is a reissue, made up from sheets of the 1759 edition.

The Forster Library (South Kensington) copy is made up from sheets of the 1735 edition, with a new (1772) title-page; portrait as that of the 1735 edition; no maps or plans. Faulkner evidently possessed two portraits of Gulliver.

BM.

THE BATHURST EDITIONS

1.

Title in red and black: Travels | into Several | Remote Nations | of the World. | [rule] In Four Parts. | [rule] By Lemuel Gulliver, | First a Surgeon, and then a Captain | of several Ships. | [rule] The Fourth Edition, Corrected. | [double rule] London: | Printed for Charles Bathurst, at the | *Cross-Keys* in *Fleet-Street*. | MDCCXLII. 1742

8vo. 16·7 cm.

Collation: A^{6}, B–Z^{8}; 182 leaves; ends on p. 351.

Contents: A 1a title; A 1b blank; A 2a–A 6b contents; B 1a–Z 8a text; Z 8b book advertisement.

Plates: No portrait, four maps, two plans.

Notes: No separate title-pages.

Ford's corrections are generally, but not always adopted, including the restorations of the 'Book'. Many Faulkner readings are followed; and there are a few independent alterations.

BM, BLO.

2.

Title in red and black: Travels | into Several | Remote Nations | of the | World. | [rule] In Four Parts. | [rule] By Lemuel Gulliver, | First a Surgeon, and then a Captain of | several Ships. | [rule] The Fifth Edition, Corrected. | [double rule] London: | Printed for Charles Bathurst, at the | *Cross-Keys* in *Fleet-Street*. | MDCCXLVII. 1747

8vo. 16·2 cm.

Collation: [?]^{1}, A^{4}, B–T^{8}, U^{4}; 153 leaves; ends on p. 296.

Contents: [?] 1a title; [?] 1b blank; A 1a–A 4b contents; B 1a–U 4b text.

Plates: No portrait, four maps, two plans.
Notes: Vol. XII of an irregularly issued set of *Miscellanies* published from 1742 to 1747.

In general appearance not unlike the 1742 8vo, but closer type, and 38/39 lines to the page instead of 36. No separate title-pages.

Follows the Faulkner text for the most part, and embodies the Ford corrections.

BM, ULC.

3.

1751 *Title in red and black*: Also called 'The Fifth Edition, Corrected', but the imprint reads, 'Printed for Charles Bathurst and sold by | T. Woodward, C. Davis, C. Hitch, | R. Dodsley, and W. Bowyer. | MDCCLI.'

Collation: As the 1747 edition.

Reset, and not the same issue as the 1747 edition.

Contains four maps and two plans.

Follows the text of the earlier Bathurst editions.

8vo. 17 cm.

BLO, Guild.

4.

Title: The | Works | of | Dr. Jonathan Swift, | Dean of St. *Patrick's, Dublin.* | [rule] Vol. II. | [rule] Containing | Capt. Lemuel Gulliver's | Travels into several remote | Nations of the World. | Parts I. and II. | [double rule] London: | Printed for C. Bathurst in *Fleet-street.* | MDCCLI.

Second Volume: Vol. III. | Containing . . . (as above) | Parts III and IV.

12mo. 12·5 cm.

Collation: Vol. II. A^{12}(?), B–T^{6}, U^{4} (+2 leaves of book-advts.); 124 leaves; ends on p. 224.

Vol. III. A^{5}, B–X^{6}, Y^{1}; 127 leaves; ends on p. 244.

Contents: Vol. II. A 1a title; A 1b blank; A 2a half-title; A 2b blank; A 3a–A 4b *The Publisher to the Reader*; A 5a–A 7a contents; A 7b blank; A 8 *To Quinbus Flestrin . . .* ; A 9a–A 10a *The Lamentation of Glumdalclitch . . .* ; A 10b–A 12b *Mary Gulliver to Captain Lemuel Gulliver*; B 1a–K 6a text of Part I; K 6b blank; L 1a–U 4b text of Part II.

Vol. III. A 1a title; A 1b blank; A 2a half-title; A 2b blank; A 3a–A 5b contents; B 1a–L 1a text of Part III; L 1b–Y 1b text of Part IV.

Plates: Portrait (new ?), not that of the Motte or Faulkner editions; four maps, and two plans.

Notes: Vols. II and III of the *Works* in fourteen volumes.

Each volume has a half-title. No separate titles to the Parts.

The first page of the text in Vol. III is numbered '3'.

The Ford corrections are recognized, but not always adopted.

BLO, ULC.

5.

Title: Travels | into | Several remote Nations of the World; | By Lemuel Gulliver. | First a Surgeon, and then a Captain of several Ships. | In Four Parts. | Part I. A Voyage to Lilliput. | Part II. A Voyage to Brobdingnag. | Part III. A Voyage to Laputa, Balnibarbi, Lugg- | nagg, Glubbdubdrib, and Japan. | Part IV. A Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms. | [double rule] London, | Printed for C. Bathurst. | [short rule] MDCCLV. 1755

4to. 27·5 cm.

Collation: a^4, A^2, A–Mm^4, Nn^3.

Contents: a 1a title; a 1b blank; a 2a–a 4b contents; A 1a *The Publisher to the Reader*; A 1b–A 2b *A Letter from Captain Gulliver to his Cousin Sympson*; A 1a–Nn 3b text.

Plates: No portrait; four maps, two plans; and four copper-plates by Joh. Seb. Müller (John Miller), one to each part, facing p. 11, p. 73, p. 147, and p. 210 respectively.

Notes: This is Part II of Vol. I of a handsome 4to edition of the *Works* in six volumes. The Preface, in which Faulkner is severely criticized, the Life of Swift, and the foot-notes are by John Hawkesworth. Nevertheless Hawkesworth followed many of the Faulkner readings.

On the general title-page to the *Works* six booksellers' names appear, in addition to that of 'C. Bathurst'.

BM.

COLLATIONS

NOTE

The Hawkesworth text of 1755 was published by Bathurst as a definitive edition, in opposition to the Dublin editions of Faulkner. In the same year he also issued the *Works* in twelve volumes, 8vo, each two volumes containing the matter of one volume of the 4to edition. Further editions were published by Bathurst in 1757, 1760, 1765, 1766, 1777/6, 1768, and 1784. Curiously enough, he did not always trouble, in these editions, to follow the Hawkesworth text.

The edition of 1784, the last with the imprint of ' Charles Bathurst ', is Vol. VI of the *Works*, in seventeen volumes, edited by Thomas Sheridan, and may be regarded as a conclusion to the earlier phase of editorial labours. Sheridan follows Hawkesworth's text, uses some of his notes, and adds others of his own in which he criticizes Swift's English.

TRAVELS

INTO SEVERAL

Remote NATIONS

OF THE

WORLD.

In FOUR PARTS.

By *LEMUEL GULLIVER*,
First a SURGEON, and then a CAPTAIN of ſeveral SHIPS.

VOL. I.

LONDON.

Printed for BENJ. MOTTE, *at the Middle* Temple-Gate *in* Fleet-ſtreet.
MDCCXXVI.

PART I

A Voyage to *Lilliput.*

PART II

A Voyage to *Brobdingnag.*

PART III

A Voyage to *Laputa, Balnibarbi, Luggnagg, Glubdubdrib,* and *Japan.*

PART IV

A Voyage to the Country of the *Houyhnhnms.*

THE

PUBLISHER

TO THE

READER

THE Author of these Travels, Mr. *Lemuel Gulliver*, is my antient and intimate Friend; there is likewise some Relation between us by the Mother's Side. About three Years ago, Mr. *Gulliver* growing weary of the Concourse of curious People coming to him at his House in *Redriff*, made a small Purchase of Land, with a convenient House, near *Newark*, in *Nottinghamshire*, his Native Country; where he now lives retired, yet in good Esteem among his Neighbours.

To the READER

ALTHOUGH Mr. *Gulliver* was born in *Nottinghamshire,* where his Father dwelt, yet I have heard him say, his Family came from *Oxfordshire*; to confirm which, I have observed in the Church-Yard at *Banbury,* in that County, several Tombs and Monuments of the *Gullivers.*

BEFORE he quitted *Redriff,* he left the Custody of the following Papers in my Hands, with the liberty to dispose of them as I should think fit. I have carefully perused them three Times: The Style is very plain and simple; and the only Fault I find is, that the Author, after the Manner of Travellers, is a little too Circumstantial. There is an Air of Truth apparent through the Whole; and indeed, the Author was so distinguished for his Veracity, that it became a sort of Proverb among his Neighbours at *Redriff,* when any one affirm'd a Thing, to say, it was as true as if Mr. *Gulliver* had spoke it.

BY the Advice of several worthy Persons, to whom, with the Author's Permission, I communicated these Papers, I now venture to send them into the World, hoping they may be at least, for some time, a better Entertainment to our young Noblemen, than the common Scribbles of Politicks and Party.

To the READER

THIS Volume would have been at least twice as large, if I had not made bold to strike out innumerable Passages relating to the Winds and Tides, as well as to the Variations and Bearings in the several Voyages ; together with the minute Descriptions of the Management of the Ship in Storms, in the Style of Sailors : Likewise the Account of the Longitudes and Latitudes ; wherein I have Reason to apprehend that Mr. *Gulliver* may be a little dissatisfied : But I was resolved to fit the Work as much as possible to the general Capacity of Readers. However, if my own Ignorance in Sea-Affairs shall have led me to commit some Mistakes, I alone am answerable for them : And if any Traveller hath a Curiosity to see the whole Work at large, as it came from the Hand of the Author, I shall be ready to gratify him.

As for any further Particulars relating to the Author, the Reader will receive Satisfaction from the first Pages of the Book.

RICHARD SYMPSON.

TRAVELS

INTO SEVERAL

Remote NATIONS

OF THE

WORLD.

PART I.

A VOYAGE to *LILLIPUT.*

LONDON:
Printed in the Year MDCCXXVI.

THE

CONTENTS

CHAP. I

THE Author gives some Account of himself and Family: His first Inducements to travel. He is shipwreck'd, and swims for his Life: Gets safe on Shoar in the Country of Lilliput: *Is made a Prisoner, and carry'd up the Country.*

CHAP. II

The Emperor of Lilliput, *attended by several of the Nobility, come to see the Author in his Confinement. The Emperor's Person and Habit describ'd. Learned Men appointed to teach the Author their Language. He gains Favour by his mild Disposition. His Pockets are search'd, and his Sword and Pistols taken from him.*

CHAP. III

The Author diverts the Emperor and his Nobility of both Sexes, in a very uncommon Manner. The Diversions of the Court of Lilliput *describ'd. The Author hath his Liberty granted him, upon certain Conditions.*

CHAP. IV

Mildendo *the Metropolis of* Lilliput *describ'd, together with the Emperor's Palace. A Conversation between the Author and a principal Secretary, concerning the Affairs of that Empire. The Author's Offers to serve the Emperor in his Wars.*

CHAP. V

The Author by an extraordinary Stratagem, prevents an Invasion. A high Title of Honour is conferr'd upon him. Embassadors arrive from the Emperor of Blefuscu *and sue for Peace. The Empress's Apartment on fire by an Accident. The Author instrumental in saving the rest of the Palace.*

CHAP. VI

Of the Inhabitants of Lilliput, *their Learning, Laws and Customs, the Manner of educating their Children. The Author's way of living in that Country. His Vindication of a great Lady.*

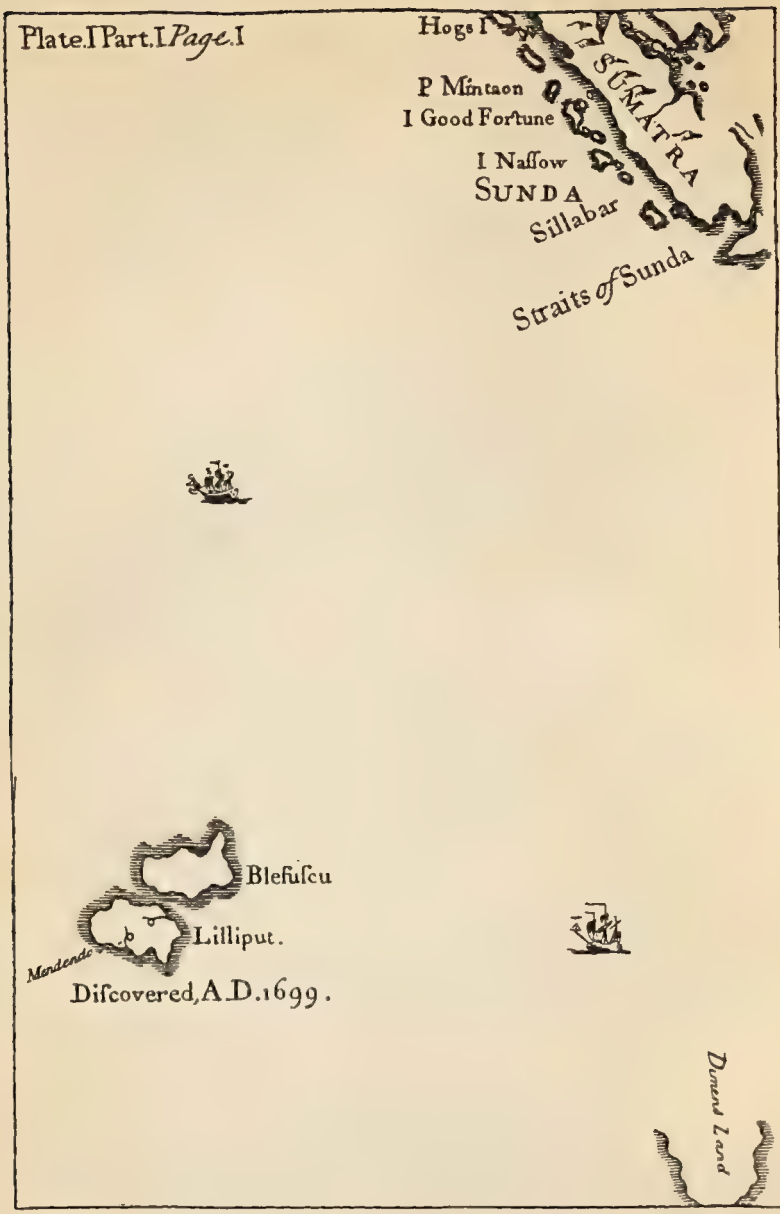
CHAP. VII

The Author being inform'd of a Design to accuse him of High-Treason, makes his Escape to Blefuscu. *His Reception there.*

CHAP. VIII

The Author by a lucky Accident, finds Means to leave Blefuscu, *and after some Difficulties returns safe to his native Country.*

Plate.I Part.I *Page.*I



TRAVELS

PART I

A VOYAGE *to* LILLIPUT

CHAP. I

The Author gives some Account of himself and Family, his first Inducements to travel. He is shipwrecked, and swims for his Life, gets safe on shoar in the Country of Lilliput, *is made a Prisoner, and carryed up the Country.*

MY Father had a small Estate in *Nottinghamshire*; I was the Third of Five Sons. He sent me to *Emanuel Colledge* in *Cambridge*, at Fourteen Years old, where I resided three Years, and applyed my self close to my Studies: But the Charge of maintaining me (although I had a very scanty Allowance) being too great for a narrow Fortune, I was bound Apprentice to Mr. *James Bates*, an eminent Surgeon in *London*, with whom I continued four Years; and my Father now and then sending me small Sums of Money, I laid

 them

them out in learning Navigation, and other Parts of the Mathematicks, useful to those who intend to travel, as I always believed it would be some time or other my fortune to do. When I left Mr. *Bates*, I went down to my Father; where, by the assistance of Him and my Uncle *John*, and some other Relations, I got Forty Pounds, and a promise of Thirty Pounds a Year to maintain me at *Leyden*: There I studied Physick two Years and seven Months, knowing it would be useful in long Voyages.

SOON after my Return from *Leyden*, I was recommended by my good Master Mr. *Bates*, to be Surgeon to the *Swallow*, Captain *Abraham Pannell* Commander; with whom I continued three Years and a half, making a Voyage or two into the *Levant*, and some other Parts. When I came back, I resolved to settle in *London*, to which Mr. *Bates*, my Master, encouraged me, and by him I was recommended to several Patients. I took Part of a small House in the *Old Jury*; and being advised to alter my Condition, I married Mrs. *Mary Burton*, second Daughter to Mr. *Edmond Burton* Hosier in *Newgate-street*, with whom I received four Hundred Pounds for a Portion.

BUT, my good Master *Bates* dying in two Years after, and I having few Friends, my Business began to fail; for my Conscience would not suffer me to imitate the bad Practice of too many among my Brethren. Having therefore consulted with my Wife, and some of my Acquaintance, I determined to go again to Sea. I was Surgeon successively in two Ships, and made several Voyages, for six Years, to the *East* and *West-*

Indies, by which I got some Addition to my Fortune. My Hours of Leisure I spent in reading the best Authors ancient and modern, being always provided with a good number of Books; and when I was ashore, in observing the Manners and Dispositions of the People, as well as learning their Language, wherein I had a great Facility by the strength of my Memory.

The last of these Voyages not proving very fortunate, I grew weary of the Sea, and intended to stay at home with my Wife and Family. I removed from the *Old Jury* to *Fetter-Lane*, and from thence to *Wapping*, hoping to get Business among the Sailors; but it would not turn to account. After three Years Expectation that things would mend, I accepted an advantageous Offer from Captain *William Prichard*, Master of the *Antelope*, who was making a Voyage to the *South-Sea*. We set sail from *Bristol*, *May* 4th, 1699, and our Voyage at first was very prosperous.

It would not be proper, for some Reasons, to trouble the Reader with the Particulars of our Adventures in those Seas: Let it suffice to inform him, that in our Passage from thence to the *East-Indies*, we were driven by a violent Storm to the Northwest of *Van Diemen*'s Land. By an Observation, we found ourselves in the Latitude of 30 Degrees 2 Minutes South. Twelve of our Crew were dead by immoderate Labour, and ill Food, the rest were in a very weak Condition. On the fifth of *November*, which was the beginning of Summer in those Parts, the Weather being very hazy, the Seamen spyed a Rock, within half a Cable's length of the Ship; but the Wind was so strong, that we were driven

 directly

directly upon it, and immediately split. Six of the Crew, of whom I was one, having let down the Boat into the Sea, made a shift to get clear of the Ship, and the Rock. We rowed, by my Computation, about three Leagues, till we were able to work no longer, being already spent with Labour while we were in the Ship. We therefore trusted ourselves to the Mercy of the Waves, and in about half an Hour the Boat was overset by a sudden Flurry from the North. What became of my Companions in the Boat, as well as of those who escaped on the Rock, or were left in the Vessel, I cannot tell; but conclude they were all lost. For my own part, I swam as Fortune directed me, and was push'd forward by Wind and Tide. I often let my Legs drop, and could feel no bottom: But when I was almost gone, and able to struggle no longer, I found myself within my depth; and by this time the Storm was much abated. The Declivity was so small, that I walked near a Mile before I got to the shore, which I conjectur'd was about eight a-clock in the Evening. I then advanced forward near half a Mile, but could not discover any sign of Houses or Inhabitants; at least I was in so weak a Condition, that I did not observe them. I was extremely tired, and with that, and the Heat of the Weather, and about half a Pint of Brandy that I drank as I left the Ship, I found myself much inclined to sleep. I lay down on the Grass, which was very short and soft, where I slept sounder than ever I remember to have done in my life, and, as I reckoned, above nine Hours; for when I awaked, it was just Day-light. I attempted to rise, but was not able to stir: For as I happen'd to lie on my Back, I found my Arms and Legs were strongly fastened on

 each

each side to the Ground; and my Hair, which was long and thick, tied down in the same manner. I likewise felt several slender Ligatures across my Body, from my Armpits to my Thighs. I could only look upwards, the Sun began to grow hot, and the Light offended mine Eyes. I heard a confused Noise about me, but in the posture I lay, could see nothing except the Sky. In a little time I felt something alive moving on my left Leg, which advancing gently forward over my Breast, came almost up to my Chin; when bending mine Eyes downwards as much as I could, I perceived it to be a human Creature not six Inches high, with a Bow and Arrow in his Hands, and a Quiver at his Back. In the mean time, I felt at least forty more of the same kind (as I conjectured) following the first. I was in the utmost Astonishment, and roared so loud, that they all ran back in a fright; and some of them, as I was afterwards told, were hurt with the Falls they got by leaping from my sides upon the Ground. However, they soon returned, and one of them, who ventured so far as to get a full sight of my Face, lifting up his Hands and Eyes by way of Admiration, cryed out in a shrill, but distinct Voice, *Hekinah Degul:* The others repeated the same Words several times, but then I knew not what they meant. I lay all this while, as the Reader may believe, in great Uneasiness: at length, struggling to get loose, I had the fortune to break the Strings, and wrench out the Pegs that fastened my left Arm to the Ground; for, by lifting it up to my Face, I discover'd the Methods they had taken to bind me, and at the same time, with a violent Pull, which gave me excessive Pain, I a little loosened the Strings that tied down my Hair on the left Side, so that I was just

able to turn my Head about two Inches. But the Creatures ran off a second time, before I could seize them; whereupon there was a great Shout in a very shrill Accent, and after it ceased, I heard one of them cry aloud, *Tolgo Phonac;* when in an instant I felt above an hundred Arrows discharged on my left Hand, which pricked me like so many Needles; and besides, they shot another Flight into the Air, as we do Bombs in *Europe*, whereof many, I suppose, fell on my Body, (though I felt them not) and some on my Face, which I immediately covered with my left Hand. When this Shower of Arrows was over, I fell a groaning with Grief and Pain, and then striving again to get loose, they discharged another Volly larger than the first, and some of them attempted with Spears to stick me in the Sides; but, by good luck, I had on a Buff Jerkin, which they could not pierce. I thought it the most prudent Method to lie still, and my design was to continue so till Night, when my left Hand being already loose, I could easily free myself: and as for the Inhabitants, I had reason to believe I might be a Match for the greatest Armies they could bring against me, if they were all of the same size with him that I saw. But Fortune disposed otherwise of me. When the People observed I was quiet, they discharged no more Arrows: But, by the Noise I heard, I knew their Numbers encreased; and about four Yards from me, over-against my right Ear, I heard a knocking for above an Hour, like that of People at work; when turning my Head that way, as well as the Pegs and Strings would permit me, I saw a Stage erected about a foot and a half from the Ground, capable of holding four of the Inhabitants, with two or three Ladders to mount it:

From whence one of them, who seemed to be a Person of Quality, made me a long Speech, whereof I understood not one Syllable. But I should have mentioned, that before the principal Person began his Oration, he cryed out three times, *Langro Dehul san:* (these Words and the former were afterwards repeated and explained to me.) Whereupon immediately about fifty of the Inhabitants came, and cut the Strings that fastened the left side of my Head, which gave me the liberty of turning it to the right, and of observing the Person and Gesture of him that was to speak. He appeared to be of a middle Age, and taller than any of the other three who attended him, whereof one was a Page that held up his Train, and seemed to be somewhat longer than my middle finger; the other two stood one on each side to support him. He acted every part of an Orator, and I could observe many Periods of Threatnings, and others of Promises, Pity and Kindness. I answered in a few Words, but in the most submissive manner, lifting up my Left Hand, and both mine Eyes to the Sun, as calling him for a Witness; and being almost famished with Hunger, having not eaten a Morsel for some Hours before I left the Ship, I found the Demands of Nature so strong upon me, that I could not forbear shewing my Impatience (perhaps against the strict Rules of Decency) by putting my Finger frequently on my Mouth, to signify that I wanted Food. The *Hurgo* (for so they call a great Lord, as I afterwards learnt) understood me very well. He descended from the Stage, and commanded that several Ladders should be applyed to my Sides, on which above an hundred of the Inhabitants mounted, and walked towards my Mouth, laden with Baskets

full of Meat, which had been provided, and sent thither by the King's Orders upon the first Intelligence he received of me. I observed there was the Flesh of several Animals, but could not distinguish them by the Taste. There were Shoulders, Legs and Loins shaped like those of Mutton, and very well dressed, but smaller than the Wings of a Lark. I eat them by two or three at a mouthful, and took three Loaves at a time, about the bigness of Musket Bullets. They supplyed me as they could, shewing a thousand Marks of wonder and astonishment at my Bulk and Appetite. I then made another Sign that I wanted Drink. They found by my eating that a small quantity would not suffice me; and being a most ingenious People, they slung up with great Dexterity one of their largest Hogsheads, then rolled it towards my Hand, and beat out the Top; I drank it off at a Draught, which I might well do, for it did not hold half a Pint, and tasted like a small Wine of *Burgundy*, but much more delicious. They brought me a second Hogshead, which I drank in the same manner, and made Signs for more, but they had none to give me. When I had perform'd these Wonders, they shouted for Joy, and danced upon my Breast, repeating several times as they did at first, *Hekinah Degul*. They made me a Sign that I should throw down the two Hogsheads, but first warning the People below to stand out of the way, crying aloud, *Borach Mivola*, and when they saw the Vessels in the Air, there was an universal shout of *Hekinah Degul*. I confess I was often tempted, while they were passing backwards and forwards on my Body, to seize Forty or Fifty of the first that came in my reach, and dash them against the Ground. But the

 remembrance

remembrance of what I had felt, which probably might not be the worst they could do, and the Promise of Honour I made them, for so I interpreted my submissive Behaviour, soon drove out these Imaginations. Besides, I now consider'd myself as bound by the Laws of Hospitality to a People who had treated me with so much Expence and Magnificence. However, in my Thoughts, I could not sufficiently wonder at the Intrepidity of these diminutive Mortals, who durst venture to mount and walk upon my Body, while one of my Hands was at liberty, without trembling at the very sight of so prodigious a Creature as I must appear to them. After some time, when they observ'd that I made no more Demands for Meat, there appeared before me a Person of high Rank from his Imperial Majesty. His Excellency having mounted on the small of my Right Leg, advanced forwards up to my Face, with about a Dozen of his Retinue. And producing his Credentials under the Signet Royal, which he applyed close to mine Eyes, spoke about ten Minutes, without any signs of Anger, but with a kind of determinate Resolution; often pointing forwards, which, as I afterwards found, was towards the Capital City, about half a Mile distant, whither it was agreed by his Majesty in Council that I must be conveyed. I answered in few words, but to no purpose, and made a Sign with my Hand that was loose, putting it to the other (but over his Excellency's Head, for fear of hurting him or his Train) and then to my own Head and Body, to signify that I desired my Liberty. It appeared that he understood me well enough, for he shook his Head by way of Disapprobation, and held his Hand in a Posture to shew that I must be carryed as a

 Prisoner.

Prisoner. However, he made other Signs to let me understand that I should have Meat and Drink enough, and very good Treatment. Whereupon I once more thought of attempting to break my Bonds, but again, when I felt the smart of their Arrows upon my Face and Hands, which were all in Blisters, and many of the Darts still sticking in them, and observing likewise that the Number of my Enemys encreased, I gave Tokens to let them know that they might do with me what they pleased. Upon this, the *Hurgo* and his Train withdrew with much Civility and chearful Countenances. Soon after I heard a general Shout, with frequent repetitions of the Words, *Peplom Selan*, and I felt great Numbers of the People on my Left side relaxing the Cords to such a degree, that I was able to turn upon my Right, and to ease myself with making Water; which I very plentifully did, to the great astonishment of the People, who conjecturing by my Motions what I was going to do, immediately opened to the right and left on that side, to avoid the Torrent which fell with such noise and violence from me. But before this, they had dawbed my Face and both my Hands with a sort of Ointment very pleasant to the Smell, which in a few Minutes removed all the smart of their Arrows. These Circumstances, added to the Refreshment I had received by their Victuals and Drink, which were very nourishing, disposed me to sleep. I slept about eight hours, as I was afterwards assured; and it was no wonder, for the Physicians, by the Emperor's Order, had mingled a sleepy Potion in the Hogsheads of Wine.

It seems that upon the first moment I was discovered sleeping on the Ground after my Landing, the

Emperor had early Notice of it by an Express, and determined in Council that I should be tyed in the manner I have related, (which was done in the Night while I slept) that Plenty of Meat and Drink should be sent me, and a Machine prepared to carry me to the Capital City.

This Resolution perhaps may appear very bold and dangerous, and I am confident would not be imitated by any Prince in *Europe* on the like Occasion; however, in my Opinion it was extremely Prudent, as well as Generous. For supposing these People had endeavour'd to kill me with their Spears and Arrows while I was asleep, I should certainly have awaked with the first sense of Smart, which might so far have rouzed my Rage and Strength, as to have enabled me to break the Strings wherewith I was tied; after which, as they were not able to make Resistance, so they could expect no Mercy.

These People are most excellent Mathematicians, and arrived to a great Perfection in Mechanicks by the countenance and encouragement of the Emperor, who is a renowned Patron of Learning. This Prince hath several Machines fixed on Wheels for the Carriage of Trees and other great Weights. He often builds his largest Men of War, whereof some are nine foot long, in the Woods where the Timber grows, and has them carried on these Engines three or four hundred Yards to the Sea. Five Hundred Carpenters and Engineers were immediately set at work to prepare the greatest Engine they had. It was a Frame of Wood raised three Inches from the Ground, about seven

 Foot

Foot long and four wide, moving upon twenty two Wheels. The Shout I heard was upon the arrival of this Engine, which it seems set out in four hours after my Landing. It was brought parallel to me as I lay. But the principal Difficulty was to raise and place me in this Vehicle. Eighty Poles, each of one Foot high, were erected for this purpose, and very strong Cords of the bigness of Packthread were fastned by Hooks to many Bandages, which the Workmen had girt round my Neck, my Hands, my Body, and my Legs. Nine Hundred of the strongest Men were employed to draw up these Cords by many Pulleys fastned on the Poles, and thus, in less than three Hours, I was raised and slung into the Engine, and there tyed fast. All this I was told, for while the whole Operation was performing, I lay in a profound sleep, by the force of that soporiferous Medicine infused into my Liquor. Fifteen Hundred of the Emperor's largest Horses, each about four Inches and an half high, were employed to draw me towards the Metropolis, which, as I said, was half a Mile distant.

About four Hours after we began our Journey, I awaked by a very ridiculous Accident; for the Carriage being stopt a while to adjust something that was out of order, two or three of the young Natives had the Curiosity to see how I looked when I was asleep; they climbed up into the Engine, and advancing very softly to my Face, one of them, an Officer in the Guards, put the sharp end of his Half-pike a good way up into my left Nostril, which tickled my Nose like a Straw, and made me sneeze violently: whereupon they stole off unperceived, and it was three Weeks be-

 fore

fore I knew the cause of my awaking so suddenly. We made a long March the remaining part of that Day, and rested at Night with five hundred Guards on each side of me, half with Torches, and half with Bows and Arrows, ready to shoot me if I should offer to stir. The next Morning at Sun-rise we continued our March, and arrived within two hundred Yards of the City-Gates about Noon. The Emperor, and all his Court came out to meet us; but his great Officers would by no means suffer his Majesty to endanger his Person by mounting on my Body.

At the Place where the Carriage stopt, there stood an ancient Temple, esteemed to be the largest in the whole Kingdom; which having been polluted some Years before by an unnatural Murder, was, according to the Zeal of those People, looked upon as Prophane, and therefore had been applied to common Use, and all the Ornaments and Furniture carried away. In this Edifice it was determined I should lodge. The great Gate fronting to the North was about four Foot high, and almost two Foot wide, through which I could easily creep. On each side of the Gate was a small Window not above six Inches from the Ground: into that on the Left side, the King's Smiths conveyed fourscore and eleven chains, like those that hang to a Lady's Watch in *Europe*, and almost as large, which were locked to my left Leg with six and thirty Padlocks. Over against this Temple, on t'other side of the great Highway, at twenty Foot distance, there was a Turret at least five Foot high. Here the Emperor ascended with many principal Lords of his Court, to have an opportunity of viewing me, as I was told, for

I could not see them. It was reckoned that above an hundred thousand Inhabitants came out of the Town upon the same Errand; and in spight of my Guards, I believe there could not be fewer than ten thousand, at several times, who mounted upon my Body by the help of Ladders. But a Proclamation was soon issued to forbid it upon pain of Death. When the Workmen found it was impossible for me to break loose, they cut all the Strings that bound me; whereupon I rose up with as melancholy a Disposition as ever I had in my Life. But the noise and astonishment of the People at seeing me rise and walk are not to be expressed. The Chains that held my left Leg were about two Yards long, and gave me not only the Liberty of walking backwards and forwards in a Semicircle; but being fixed within four Inches of the Gate, allowed me to creep in, and lie at my full length in the Temple.

CHAP. II

The Emperor of Lilliput, *attended by several of the Nobility, come to see the Author in his Confinement. The Emperor's Person and Habit described. Learned Men appointed to teach the Author their Language. He gains Favour by his mild Disposition. His Pockets are searched, and his Sword and Pistols taken from him.*

WHEN I found myself on my Feet, I looked about me, and must confess I never beheld a more entertaining Prospect. The Country round appeared like a continued Garden, and the inclosed Fields, which were generally forty Foot square, resembled so many Beds of Flowers. These Fields were intermingled with Woods of half a Stang, and the tallest Trees, as I could judge, appeared to be seven foot high. I viewed the Town on my left hand, which looked like the painted Scene of a City in a Theatre.

I had been for some Hours extremely pressed by the Necessities of Nature; which was no wonder, it being almost two Days since I had last disburthened myself. I was under great Difficulties between Urgency and Shame. The best Expedient I could think on, was to creep into my House, which I accordingly did; and shutting the Gate after me, I went as far as the length of my Chain would suffer, and discharged my Body of that uneasy Load. But this was the only time I was

 ever

ever guilty of so uncleanly an Action; for which I cannot but hope the candid Reader will give some Allowance, after he hath maturely and impartially considered my Case, and the Distress I was in. From this time my constant Practice was, as soon as I rose, to perform that Business in open Air, at the full extent of my Chain, and due Care was taken every Morning before Company came, that the offensive Matter should be carried off in Wheel-barrows by two Servants appointed for that purpose. I would not have dwelt so long upon a Circumstance, that perhaps at first sight may appear not very momentous, if I had not thought it necessary to justify my Character in point of Cleanliness to the World; which I am told some of my Maligners have been pleased, upon this and other Occasions, to call in question.

WHEN this Adventure was at an end, I came back out of my House, having occasion for fresh Air. The Emperor was already descended from the Tower, and advancing on Horse-back towards me, which had like to have cost him dear; for the Beast, though very well trained, yet wholly unused to such a Sight, which appeared as if a Mountain moved before him, reared up on his hinder Feet: But that Prince, who is an excellent Horse-Man, kept his seat, till his Attendants ran in, and held the Bridle, while his Majesty had time to dismount. When he alighted, he surveyed me round with great Admiration, but kept without the length of my Chain. He ordered his Cooks and Butlers, who were already prepared, to give me Victuals and Drink, which they pushed forward in a sort of Vehicles upon Wheels till I could reach them. I took those Vehicles,

 and

and soon emptied them all; twenty of them were filled with Meat, and ten with Liquor; each of the former afforded me two or three good Mouthfuls, and I emptied the Liquor of ten Vessels, which was contained in earthen Vials, into one Vehicle, drinking it off at a Draught, and so I did with the rest. The Empress, and young Princes of the Blood, of both Sexes, attended by many Ladies, sate at some distance in their Chairs; but upon the Accident that happened to the Emperor's Horse, they alighted, and came near his Person, which I am now going to describe. He is taller by almost the breadth of my Nail, than any of his Court; which alone is enough to strike an Awe into the Beholders. His Features are strong and masculine, with an *Austrian* Lip and arched Nose, his Complexion olive, his Countenance erect, his Body and Limbs well proportioned, all his Motions graceful, and his Deportment majestick. He was then past his Prime, being twenty-eight Years and three Quarters old, of which he had reigned about seven, in great Felicity, and generally victorious. For the better convenience of beholding him, I lay on my side, so that my Face was parallel to his, and he stood but three Yards off: However, I have had him since many times in my Hand, and therefore cannot be deceived in the Description. His Dress was very plain and simple, and the Fashion of it between the *Asiatick* and the *European*; but he had on his Head a light Helmet of Gold, adorned with Jewels, and a Plume on the Crest. He held his Sword drawn in his Hand, to defend himself, if I should happen to break loose; it was almost three Inches long, the Hilt and Scabbard were Gold enriched with Diamonds. His Voice was shrill, but very

 clear

clear and articulate, and I could distinctly hear it when I stood up. The Ladys and Courtiers were all most magnificently clad, so that the Spot they stood upon seemed to resemble a Petticoat spread on the Ground, embroidered with Figures of Gold and Silver. His Imperial Majesty spoke often to me, and I returned Answers, but neither of us could understand a Syllable. There were several of his Priests and Lawyers present (as I conjectured by their Habits) who were commanded to address themselves to me, and I spoke to them in as many Languages as I had the least smattering of, which were *High* and *Low Dutch*, *Latin*, *French*, *Spanish*, *Italian*, and *Lingua Franca*; but all to no purpose. After about two Hours the Court retired, and I was left with a strong Guard, to prevent the Impertinence, and probably the Malice of the Rabble, who were very impatient to croud about me as near as they durst, and some of them had the Impudence to shoot their Arrows at me as I sate on the Ground by the Door of my House, whereof one very narrowly missed my left Eye. But the Colonel ordered six of the Ring-leaders to be seized, and thought no Punishment so proper as to deliver them bound into my Hands, which some of his Soldiers accordingly did, pushing them forwards with the But-Ends of their pikes into my reach; I took them all in my right Hand, put five of them into my Coat-Pocket, and as to the sixth, I made a Countenance as if I would eat him alive. The poor Man squalled terribly, and the Colonel and his Officers were in much pain, especially when they saw me take out my Penknife: But I soon put them out of fear; for, looking mildly, and immediately cutting the Strings he was bound with, I

set him gently on the Ground, and away he ran; I treated the rest in the same manner, taking them one by one out of my Pocket, and I observed both the Soldiers and People were highly obliged at this Mark of my Clemency, which was represented very much to my Advantage at Court.

Towards Night I got with some difficulty into my House, where I lay on the Ground, and continued to do so about a Fortnight; during which time the Emperor gave Orders to have a Bed prepared for me. Six Hundred Beds of the common Measure were brought in Carriages, and worked up in my House, an hundred and fifty of their Beds sown together made up the Breadth and Length, and these were four double, which however kept me but very indifferently from the Hardness of the Floor, that was of smooth Stone. By the same Computation they provided me with Sheets, Blankets, and Coverlets, tolerable enough for one who had been so long enured to Hardships as I.

As the News of my Arrival spread through the Kingdom, it brought prodigious Numbers of rich, idle, and curious People to see me; so that the Villages were almost emptied, and great Neglect of Tillage and Houshold Affairs must have ensued, if his Imperial Majesty had not provided by several Proclamations and Orders of State against this Inconveniency. He directed that those, who had already beheld me, should return home, and not presume to come within fifty Yards of my House without Licence from Court; whereby the Secretarys of State got considerable Fees.

In the mean time, the Emperor held frequent Councils to debate what Course should be taken with me; and I was afterwards assured by a particular Friend, a Person of great Quality, who was looked upon to be as much in the Secret as any, that the Court was under many Difficulties concerning me. They apprehended my breaking loose, that my Diet would be very expensive, and might cause a Famine. Sometimes they determined to starve me, or at least to shoot me in the Face and Hands with poisoned Arrows, which would soon dispatch me: But again they considered, that the Stench of so large a Carcass might produce a Plague in the Metropolis, and probably spread through the whole Kingdom. In the midst of these Consultations, several Officers of the Army went to the Door of the great Council-Chamber; and two of them being admitted, gave an Account of my Behaviour to the six Criminals above-mentioned, which made so favourable an Impression in the Breast of his Majesty and the whole Board in my behalf, that an Imperial Commission was issued out, obliging all the Villages nine hundred Yards round the City, to deliver in every Morning six Beeves, forty Sheep, and other Victuals for my Sustenance; together with a proportionable Quantity of Bread, and Wine, and other Liquors; for the due Payment of which, his Majesty gave Assignments upon his Treasury. For this Prince lives chiefly upon his own Demesnes, seldom except upon great Occasions raising any Subsidies upon his Subjects, who are bound to attend him in his Wars at their own Expence. An Establishment was also made of six hundred Persons to be my Domesticks, who had Board-Wages allowed for their

 Maintenance,

Maintenance, and Tents built for them very conveniently on each side of my Door. It was likewise ordered, that three hundred Taylors should make me a Suit of Cloaths after the Fashion of the Country: That six of his Majesty's greatest Scholars should be employ'd to instruct me in their Language: And, lastly, that the Emperor's Horses, and those of the Nobility, and Troops of Guards, should be frequently exercised in my sight, to accustom themselves to me. All these Orders were duly put in execution, and in about three Weeks I made a great Progress in learning their Language; during which time, the Emperor frequently honoured me with his Visits, and was pleased to assist my Masters in teaching me. We began already to converse together in some sort; and the first Words I learnt were to express my desire that he would please to give me my Liberty, which I every day repeated on my Knees His Answer, as I could apprehend it, was, that this must be a Work of Time, not to be thought on without the Advice of Council, and that first I must *Lumos Kelmin pesso desmar lon Emposo;* that is, swear a Peace with him and his Kingdom. However, that I should be used with all Kindness; and he advised me to acquire by my Patience, and discreet Behaviour, the good Opinion of himself and his Subjects. He desired I would not take it ill, if he gave Orders to certain proper Officers to search me; for probably I might carry about me several Weapons, which must needs be dangerous things, if they answered the Bulk of so prodigious a Person. I said, his Majesty should be satisfied, for I was ready to strip myself, and turn up my Pockets before him. This I delivered part in Words, and part in Signs. He replied, that by the

Laws of the Kingdom I must be searched by two of his Officers; that he knew this could not be done without my Consent and Assistance; that he had so good an Opinion of my Generosity and Justice, as to trust their Persons in my Hands: That whatever they took from me should be returned when I left the Country, or paid for at the Rate which I would set upon them. I took up the two Officers in my Hands, put them first into my Coat-Pockets, and then into every other Pocket about me, except my two Fobs, and another secret Pocket I had no mind should be searched, wherein I had some little Necessaries that were of no consequence to any but myself. In one of my Fobs there was a Silver Watch, and in the other a small Quantity of Gold in a Purse. These Gentlemen, having Pen, Ink and Paper about them, made an exact Inventory of every thing they saw; and when they had done, desired I would set them down, that they might deliver it to the Emperor. This Inventory I afterwards translated into *English*, and is word for word as follows.

IMPRIMIS, In the right Coat-Pocket of the *Great Man Mountain* (for so I interpret the Words *Quinbus Flestrin*) after the strictest search, we found only one great Piece of coarse Cloth, large enough to be a Foot-Cloth for your Majesty's chief Room of State. In the left Pocket, we saw a huge Silver Chest, with a Cover of the same Metal, which we the Searchers were not able to lift. We desired it should be opened, and one of us stepping into it, found himself up to the mid Leg in a sort of Dust, some part whereof flying up to our Faces, set us both a sneezing for several times together.

 In

In his right Waistcoat-Pocket, we found a prodigious Bundle of white thin Substances, folded one over another, about the bigness of three Men, tied with a strong Cable, and marked with black Figures; which we humbly conceive to be Writings, every Letter almost half as large as the Palm of our Hands. In the left, there was a sort of Engine, from the Back of which were extended twenty long Poles, resembling the Pallisado's before your Majesty's Court; wherewith we conjecture the *Man Mountain* combs his Head; for we did not always trouble him with Questions, because we found it a great Difficulty to make him understand us. In the large Pocket on the right side of his middle Cover, (so I translate the Word *Ranfu-Lo*, by which they meant my Breeches) we saw a hollow Pillar of Iron, about the length of a Man, fastened to a strong piece of Timber, larger than the Pillar; and upon one side of the Pillar were huge Pieces of Iron sticking out, cut into strange Figures, which we know not what to make of. In the left Pocket, another Engine of the same kind. In the smaller Pocket on the right side, were several round flat Pieces of white and red Metal, of different Bulk; some of the white, which seemed to be Silver, were so large and heavy, that my Comrade and I could hardly lift them. In the left Pocket were two black Pillars irregularly shaped: we could not, without difficulty, reach the top of them as we stood at the bottom of his Pocket. One of them was covered, and seemed all of a piece: But at the upper End of the other, there appeared a white round Substance, about twice the bigness of our Heads. Within each of these was inclosed a prodigious Plate of Steel; which, by our Orders, we obliged him to shew us, because we ap-

prehended they might be dangerous Engines. He took them out of their Cases, and told us, that in his own Country his Practice was to shave his Beard with one of these, and to cut his Meat with the other. There were two Pockets which we could not enter: These he called his Fobs; they were two large Slits cut into the top of his middle Cover, but squeezed close by the pressure of his Belly. Out of the right Fob hung a great Silver Chain, with a wonderful kind of Engine at the bottom. We directed him to draw out whatever was fastened to that Chain; which appeared to be a Globe, half Silver, and half of some transparent Metal: For on the transparent side we saw certain strange Figures circularly drawn, and thought we could touch them, till we found our Fingers stopped by that lucid Substance. He put this Engine to our Ears, which made an incessant Noise like that of a Water-Mill. And we conjecture it is either some unknown Animal, or the God that he worships: But we are more inclined to the latter Opinion, because he assured us, (if we understood him right, for he expressed himself very imperfectly) that he seldom did any thing without consulting it. He called it his Oracle, and said it pointed out the Time for every Action of his Life. From the left Fob he took out a Net almost large enough for a Fisherman, but contrived to open and shut like a Purse, and served him for the same use: We found therein several massy Pieces of yellow Metal, which if they be real Gold, must be of immense Value.

HAVING thus, in obedience to your Majesty's Commands, diligently searched all his Pockets, we observed

a Girdle about his Waist made of the Hide of some prodigious Animal; from which, on the left Side, hung a Sword of the length of five Men; and on the right, a Bag or Pouch divided into two Cells, each Cell capable of holding three of your Majesty's Subjects. In one of these Cells were several Globes or Balls of a most ponderous Metal, about the bigness of our Heads, and required a strong Hand to lift them: The other Cell contained a Heap of certain black Grains, but of no great Bulk or Weight, for we could hold above fifty of them in the Palms of our Hands.

THIS is an exact Inventory of what we found about the Body of the *Man-Mountain*, who used us with great Civility, and due Respect to your Majesty's Commission. Signed and sealed on the fourth Day of the eighty ninth Moon of your Majesty's auspicious Reign.

Clefren Frelock, Marsi Frelock.

WHEN this Inventory was read over to the Emperor, he directed me, although in very gentle Terms, to deliver up the several Particulars. He first called for my Scymiter, which I took out, Scabbard and all. In the mean time he ordered three thousand of his choicest Troops (who then attended him) to surround me at a distance, with their Bows and Arrows just ready to discharge: but I did not observe it, for mine Eyes were wholly fixed upon his Majesty. He then desired me to draw my Scymiter, which, although it had got some Rust by the Sea-Water, was in most parts exceeding bright. I did so, and immediately all the Troops gave a shout between Terror and Surprize;

 for

for the Sun shone clear, and the Reflexion dazled their Eyes as I waved the Scymiter to and fro in my Hand. His Majesty, who is a most magnanimous Prince, was less daunted than I could expect; he ordered me to return it into the Scabbard, and cast it on the ground as gently as I could, about six foot from the end of my Chain. The next thing he demanded, was one of the hollow iron Pillars, by which he meant my Pocket-Pistols. I drew it out, and at his desire, as well as I could, expressed to him the Use of it; and charging it only with Powder, which, by the closeness of my Pouch, happened to scape wetting in the Sea, (an Inconvenience against which all prudent Mariners take special care to provide) I first cautioned the Emperor not to be afraid, and then I let it off in the Air. The Astonishment here was much greater than at the sight of my Scymiter. Hundreds fell down as if they had been struck dead; and even the Emperor, although he stood his ground, could not recover himself in some time. I delivered up both my Pistols in the same manner, as I had done my Scymiter, and then my Pouch of Powder and Bullets; begging him that the former might be kept from the Fire, for it would kindle with the smallest Spark, and blow up his Imperial Palace into the Air. I likewise delivered up my Watch, which the Emperor was very curious to see, and commanded two of his tallest Yeomen of the Guards to bear it on a Pole upon their Shoulders, as Dray-men in *England* do a Barrel of Ale. He was amazed at the continual Noise it made, and the Motion of the Minute-hand, which he could easily discern; for their Sight is much more acute than ours: and asked the Opinions of his learned Men about him,

which were various and remote, as the Reader may well imagine without my repeating; although indeed I could not very perfectly understand them. I then gave up my Silver and Copper Money, my Purse with nine large Pieces of Gold, and some smaller ones; my Knife and Razor, my Comb and Silver Snuff-Box, my Handkerchief and Journal Book. My Scymiter, Pistols, and Pouch, were conveyed in Carriages to his Majesty's Stores; but the rest of my Goods were returned to me.

I had, as I before observed, one private Pocket which escaped their Search, wherein there was a pair of Spectacles (which I sometimes use for the weakness of mine Eyes) a Pocket Perspective, and several other little Conveniencies; which being of no consequence to the Emperor, I did not think my self bound in Honour to discover, and I apprehended they might be lost or spoiled if I ventured them out of my Possession.

CHAP. III

The Author diverts the Emperor and his Nobility of both Sexes in a very uncommon manner. The Diversions of the Court of Lilliput *described. The Author hath his Liberty granted him upon certain Conditions.*

MY Gentleness and good Behaviour had gained so far on the Emperor and his Court, and indeed upon the Army and People in general, that I began to conceive Hopes of getting my Liberty in a short time. I took all possible Methods to cultivate this favourable Disposition. The Natives came by degrees to be less apprehensive of any Danger from me. I would sometimes lie down, and let five or six of them dance on my Hand. And at last the Boys and Girls would venture to come and play at Hide and Seek in my Hair. I had now made a good Progress in understanding and speaking their Language. The Emperor had a mind one day to entertain me with several of the Country Shows, wherein they exceed all Nations I have known, both for Dexterity and Magnificence. I was diverted with none so much as that of the Rope-Dancers, performed upon a slender white Thread, extended about two Foot, and twelve Inches from the Ground. Upon which I shall desire liberty, with the Reader's Patience, to enlarge a little.

THIS Diversion is only practised by those Persons who are Candidates for great Employments, and high

Favour,

Favour, at Court. They are trained in this Art from their Youth, and are not always of noble Birth, or liberal Education. When a great Office is vacant either by Death or Disgrace, (which often happens) five or six of those Candidates petition the Emperor to entertain his Majesty and the Court with a Dance on the Rope, and whoever jumps the highest without falling, succeeds in the Office. Very often the Chief Ministers themselves are commanded to shew their Skill, and to convince the Emperor that they have not lost their Faculty. *Flimnap*, the Treasurer, is allowed to cut a Caper on the strait Rope, at least an Inch higher than any other Lord in the whole Empire. I have seen him do the Summerset several times together upon a Trencher fixed on the Rope, which is no thicker than a common Packthread in *England*. My Friend *Reldresal*, Principal Secretary for private Affairs, is, in my opinion, if I am not partial, the second after the Treasurer; the rest of the great Officers are much upon a Par.

These Diversions are often attended with fatal Accidents, whereof great Numbers are on Record. I my self have seen two or three Candidates break a Limb. But the Danger is much greater when the Ministers themselves are commanded to shew their Dexterity; for by contending to excel themselves and their Fellows, they strain so far, that there is hardly one of them who hath not received a Fall, and some of them two or three. I was assured that a Year or two before my arrival, *Flimnap* would have infallibly broke his Neck, if one of the King's Cushions, that accidentally lay on the ground, had not weakened the Force of his Fall.

There is likewise another Diversion which is only shewn before the Emperor and Empress, and first Minister, upon particular Occasions. The Emperor lays on a Table three fine silken Threads of six Inches long. One is Purple, the other Yellow, and the third White. These Threads are proposed as Prizes for those Persons whom the Emperor hath a mind to distinguish by a peculiar Mark of his Favour. The Ceremony is performed in his Majesty's great Chamber of State, where the Candidates are to undergo a Tryal of Dexterity very different from the former, and such as I have not observed the least Resemblance of in any other Country of the old or the new World. The Emperor holds a Stick in his Hands, both Ends parallel to the Horizon, while the Candidates advancing one by one, sometimes leap over the Stick, sometimes creep under it backwards and forwards several times, according as the Stick is advanced or depressed. Sometimes the Emperor holds one end of the Stick, and his first Minister the other; sometimes the Minister has it entirely to himself. Whoever performs his part with most Agility, and holds out the longest in leaping and creeping, is rewarded with the Purple coloured Silk; the Yellow is given to the next, and the White to the third, which they all wear girt twice round about the middle; and you see few great Persons about this Court, who are not adorned with one of these Girdles.

The Horses of the Army, and those of the Royal Stables, having been daily led before me, were no longer shy, but would come up to my very Feet without starting. The Riders would leap them over my Hand as I held it on the Ground, and one of the

Emperor's Huntsmen, upon a large Courser, took my Foot, Shoe and all; which was indeed a prodigious Leap. I had the good fortune to divert the Emperor one day after a very extraordinary manner. I desired he would order several Sticks of two foot high, and the thickness of an ordinary Cane, to be brought me; whereupon his Majesty commanded the Master of his Woods to give Directions accordingly, and the next Morning six Wood-men arrived with as many Carriages, drawn by eight Horses to each. I took nine of these Sticks, and fixing them firmly in the Ground in a Quadrangular Figure, two foot and a half Square, I took four other Sticks, and tyed them parallel at each Corner, about two foot from the Ground; then I fastned my Handkerchief to the nine Sticks that stood erect and extended it on all sides till it was tight as the top of a Drum; and the four parallel Sticks rising about five Inches higher than the Handkerchief, served as Ledges on each side. When I had finished my Work, I desired the Emperor to let a Troop of his best Horse, twenty four in number, come and exercise upon this Plain. His Majesty approved of the Proposal, and I took them up one by one in my Hands, ready mounted and armed, with the proper Officers to exercise them. As soon as they got into order, they divided into two Parties, performed mock Skirmishes, discharged blunt Arrows, drew their Swords, fled and pursued, attacked and retired, and in short discovered the best Military Discipline I ever beheld. The parallel Sticks secured them and their Horses from falling over the Stage; and the Emperor was so much delighted, that he ordered this Entertainment to be repeated several days, and once was pleased

to be lifted up, and give the word of Command; and, with great difficulty, persuaded even the Empress her self to let me hold her in her close Chair within two Yards of the Stage, from whence she was able to take a full View of the whole Performance. It was my good fortune that no ill Accident happened in these Entertainments, only once a fiery Horse that belonged to one of the Captains pawing with his Hoof struck a Hole in my Handkerchief, and his Foot slipping, he overthrew his Rider and himself; but I immediately relieved them both, and covering the Hole with one Hand, I set down the Troop with the other, in the same manner as I took them up. The Horse that fell was strained in the left Shoulder, but the Rider got no Hurt, and I repaired my Handkerchief as well as I could; however, I would not trust to the Strength of it any more in such dangerous Enterprizes.

About two or three days before I was set at liberty, as I was entertaining the Court with these kind of Feats, there arrived an Express to inform his Majesty that some of his Subjects riding near the Place where I was first taken up, had seen a great black Substance lying on the Ground, very oddly shaped, extending its Edges round as wide as his Majesty's Bedchamber, and rising up in the middle as high as a Man; that it was no living Creature, as they at first apprehended, for it lay on the Grass without Motion, and some of them had walked round it several times: That by mounting upon each other's Shoulders, they had got to the top, which was flat and even, and stamping upon it they found it was hollow within; that they humbly conceived it might be something belonging to the *Man-*

Mountain;

Mountain; and if his Majesty pleased, they would undertake to bring it with only five Horses. I presently knew what they meant, and was glad at heart to receive this Intelligence. It seems upon my first reaching the Shore after our Shipwreck, I was in such confusion, that before I came to the Place where I went to sleep, my Hat which I had fastned with a String to my Head while I was rowing, and had stuck on all the time I was swimming, fell off after I came to Land; the String, as I conjecture, breaking by some Accident which I never observed, but thought my Hat had been lost at Sea. I intreated his Imperial Majesty to give Orders it might be brought to me as soon as possible, describing to him the Use and the Nature of it: And the next day the Waggoners arrived with it, but not in a very good condition; they had bored two Holes in the Brim, within an Inch and half of the Edge, and fastned two Hooks in the Holes; these Hooks were tyed by a long Cord to the Harness, and thus my Hat was dragged along for above half an *English* Mile; but the Ground in that Country being extremely smooth and level, it received less Damage than I expected.

Two Days after this Adventure, the Emperor having ordered that Part of his Army which quarters in and about his Metropolis to be in readiness, took a fancy of diverting himself in a very singular manner. He desired I would stand like a *Colossus*, with my Legs as far asunder as I conveniently could. He then commanded his General (who was an old experienced Leader, and a great Patron of mine) to draw up the Troops in close Order, and march them under me, the Foot by Twenty-four in a breast, and the Horse by

 Sixteen,

Sixteen, with Drums beating, Colours flying, and Pikes advanced. This Body consisted of three thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse. His Majesty gave Orders, upon pain of Death, that every Soldier in his March should observe the strictest Decency with regard to my Person; which, however, could not prevent some of the younger Officers from turning up their Eyes as they passed under me. And, to confess the Truth, my Breeches were at that time in so ill a Condition, that they afforded some Opportunities for Laughter and Admiration.

I had sent so many Memorials and Petitions for my Liberty, that his Majesty at length mentioned the Matter first in the Cabinet, and then in a full Council; where it was opposed by none, except *Skyresh Bolgolam*, who was pleased, without any provocation, to be my mortal Enemy. But it was carried against him by the whole Board, and confirmed by the Emperor. That Minister was *Galbet*, or Admiral of the Realm, very much in his Master's Confidence, and a Person well versed in Affairs, but of a morose and sour Complection. However, he was at length persuaded to comply; but prevailed that the Articles and Conditions upon which I should be set free, and to which I must swear, should be drawn up by himself. These Articles were brought to me by *Skyresh Bolgolam* in Person, attended by two Under-Secretarys, and several Persons of Distinction. After they were read, I was demanded to swear to the Performance of them; first in the manner of my own Country, and afterwards in the method prescribed by their Laws; which was to hold my right Foot in my left Hand, to place the middle Finger of my

 right

right Hand on the Crown of my Head, and my Thumb on the Tip of my right Ear. But because the Reader may perhaps be curious to have some Idea of the Style and Manner of Expression peculiar to that People, as well as to know the Articles upon which I recovered my Liberty, I have made a Translation of the whole Instrument word for word, as near as I was able, which I here offer to the Publick.

GOLBASTO MOMAREN EVLAME GURDILO SHEFIN MULLY ULLY GUE, most Mighty Emperor of *Lilliput*, Delight and Terror of the Universe, whose Dominions extend five thousand Blustrugs, (about twelve Miles in Circumference) to the Extremitys of the Globe; Monarch of all Monarchs, taller than the Sons of Men; whose Feet press down to the Center, and whose Head strikes against the Sun: At whose Nod the Princes of the Earth shake their Knees; pleasant as the Spring, comfortable as the Summer, fruitful as Autumn, dreadful as Winter. His most sublime Majesty proposeth to the *Man-Mountain*, lately arrived to our Celestial Dominions, the following Articles, which by a solemn Oath he shall be obliged to perform.

FIRST, The *Man-Mountain* shall not depart from our Dominions, without our Licence under our Great Seal.

2[d], He shall not presume to come into our Metropolis, without our express Order; at which time the Inhabitants shall have two Hours warning to keep within their Doors.

3d, The said *Man-Mountain* shall confine his Walks to our principal High Roads, and not offer to walk or lie down in a Meadow or Field of Corn.

4th, As he walks the said Roads, he shall take the utmost care not to trample upon the Bodies of any of our loving Subjects, their Horses, or Carriages, nor take any of our said Subjects into his Hands, without their own Consent.

5th, If an Express requires extraordinary Dispatch, the *Man-Mountain* shall be obliged to carry in his Pocket the Messenger and Horse a Six Days Journey once in every Moon, and return the said Messenger back (if so required) safe to our Imperial Presence.

6th, He shall be our Ally against our Enemies in the Island of *Blefuscu*, and do his utmost to destroy their Fleet, which is now preparing to invade Us.

7th, That the said *Man-Mountain* shall, at his times of leisure, be aiding and assisting to our Workmen, in helping to raise certain great Stones, towards covering the Wall of the principal Park, and other our Royal Buildings.

8th, That the said *Man-Mountain* shall, in two Moons time, deliver in an exact Survey of the Circumference of our Dominions by a Computation of his own Paces round the Coast.

LASTLY, That upon his solemn Oath to observe all the above Articles, the said *Man-Mountain* shall have

a daily Allowance of Meat and Drink sufficient for the Support of 1724 of our Subjects, with free Access to our Royal Person, and other Marks of our Favour. Given at our Palace at *Belfaborac* the twelfth Day of the Ninety-first Moon of our Reign.

I swore and subscribed to these Articles with great Chearfulness and Content, although some of them were not so honourable as I could have wished; which proceeded wholly from the Malice of *Skyresh Bolgolam* the High Admiral: whereupon my Chains were immediately unlocked, and I was at full liberty; the Emperor himself in Person did me the Honour to be by at the whole Ceremony. I made my Acknowledgements by prostrating myself at his Majesty's Feet: But he commanded me to rise; and after many gracious Expressions, which, to avoid the Censure of Vanity, I shall not repeat, he added, that he hoped I should prove a useful Servant, and well deserve all the Favours he had already conferred upon me, or might do for the future.

The Reader may please to observe, that in the last Article for the Recovery of my Liberty, the Emperor stipulates to allow me a Quantity of Meat and Drink sufficient for the Support of 1724 *Lilliputians*. Some time after, asking a Friend at Court how they came to fix on that determinate Number; he told me, that his Majesty's Mathematicians, having taken the Height of my Body by the help of a Quadrant, and finding it to exceed theirs in the Proportion of Twelve to One, they concluded from the Similarity of their Bodies, that mine must contain at least 1724 of theirs, and conse-

quently would require as much Food as was necessary to support that number of *Lilliputians*. By which, the Reader may conceive an Idea of the Ingenuity of that People, as well as the prudent and exact Oeconomy of so great a Prince.

CHAP. IV

Mildendo, *the Metropolis of* Lilliput, *described, together with the Emperor's Palace. A Conversation between the Author and a Principal Secretary, concerning the Affairs of that Empire: The Author's Offers to serve the Emperor in his Wars.*

THE first Request I made after I had obtained my Liberty, was, that I might have Licence to see *Mildendo*, the Metropolis; which the Emperor easily granted me, but with a special Charge to do no hurt either to the Inhabitants, or their Houses. The People had notice by Proclamation of my design to visit the Town. The Wall which encompassed it, is two foot and an half high, and at least eleven Inches broad, so that a Coach and Horses may be driven very safely round it; and it is flanked with strong Towers at ten foot distance. I stept over the great Western Gate, and passed very gently, and sideling through the two principal Streets, only in my short Waistcoat, for fear of damaging the Roofs and Eves of the Houses with the Skirts of my Coat. I walked with the utmost Circumspection, to avoid treading on any Stragglers, that might remain in the Streets, although the Orders were very strict, that all People should keep in their Houses, at their own Peril. The Garret Windows and Tops of Houses were so crowded with Spectators, that I thought in all my Travels I had not seen a more populous Place. The City is an exact Square, each

side of the Wall being five hundred foot long. The two great Streets, which run cross and divide it into four Quarters, are five foot wide. The Lanes and Alleys which I could not enter, but only viewed them as I passed, are from twelve to eighteen Inches. The Town is capable of holding five hundred thousand Souls. The Houses are from three to five Stories. The Shops and Markets well provided.

The Emperor's Palace is in the Center of the City, where the two great Streets meet. It is inclosed by a Wall of two foot high, and twenty foot distant from the Buildings. I had his Majesty's Permission to step over this Wall; and the Space being so wide between that and the Palace, I could easily view it on every side. The outward Court is a Square of forty foot, and includes two other Courts: In the inmost are the Royal Apartments, which I was very desirous to see, but found it extremely difficult; for the great Gates, from one Square into another, were but eighteen Inches high, and seven Inches wide. Now the Buildings of the outer Court were at least five foot high, and it was impossible for me to stride over them, without infinite Damage to the Pile, though the Walls were strongly built of hewn Stone, and four Inches thick. At the same time the Emperor had a great desire that I should see the Magnificence of his Palace; but this I was not able to do till three Days after, which I spent in cutting down with my Knife some of the largest Trees in the Royal Park, about an hundred Yards distant from the City. Of these Trees I made two Stools, each about three foot high, and strong enough to bear my Weight. The People having received notice a second time, I

 went

went again through the City to the Palace, with my two Stools in my Hands. When I came to the side of the outer Court, I stood upon one Stool, and took the other in my hand: This I lifted over the Roof, and gently set it down on the Space between the first and second Court, which was eight foot wide. I then stept over the Buildings very conveniently from one Stool to the other, and drew up the first after me with a hooked Stick. By this Contrivance I got into the inmost Court; and lying down upon my side, I applied my Face to the Windows of the middle Storys, which were left open on purpose, and discovered the most splendid Apartments that can be imagined. There I saw the Empress, and the young Princes in their several Lodgings, with their chief Attendants about them Her Imperial Majesty was pleased to smile very graciously upon me, and gave me out of the Window her Hand to kiss.

But I shall not anticipate the Reader with farther Descriptions of this kind, because I reserve them for a greater Work, which is now almost ready for the Press, containing a general Description of this Empire, from its first Erection, through a long Series of Princes, with a particular Account of their Wars and Politicks, Laws, Learning, and Religion; their Plants and Animals, their peculiar Manners and Customs, with other Matters very curious and useful; my chief design at present being only to relate such Events and Transactions as happened to the Publick, or to myself, during a Residence of about nine Months in that Empire.

One Morning, about a Fortnight after I had obtain'd my Liberty, *Keldresal*, Principal Secretary (as

 they

they style him) of private Affairs, came to my House, attended only by one Servant. He ordered his Coach to wait at a distance, and desired I would give him an Hour's Audience; which I readily consented to, on account of his Quality, and Personal Merits, as well as the many good Offices he had done me during my Sollicitations at Court. I offered to lie down, that he might the more conveniently reach my Ear; but he chose rather to let me hold him in my hand during our Conversation. He began with Compliments on my Liberty; said he might pretend to some Merit in it; but, however, added, that if it had not been for the present Situation of things at Court, perhaps I might not have obtained it so soon. For, *said he*, as flourishing a Condition as we may appear to be in to Foreigners, we labour under two mighty Evils; a violent Faction at home, and the Danger of an Invasion by a most potent Enemy from abroad. As to the first, you are to understand, that for above seventy Moons past, there have been two struggling Parties in this Empire, under the Names of *Tramecksan*, and *Slamecksan*, from the high and low Heels on their Shoes, by which they distinguish themselves. It is alledged indeed, that the high Heels are most agreeable to our ancient Constitution: But however this be, his Majesty hath determined to make use of only low Heels in the Administration of the Government, and all Offices in the Gift of the Crown, as you cannot but observe; and particularly, that his Majesty's Imperial Heels are lower at least by a *Drurr* than any of his Court; (*Drurr* is a Measure about the fourteenth Part of an Inch.) The Animositys between these two Partys run so high, that they will neither eat nor drink, nor talk with each other. We compute

 the

the *Tramecksan*, or High-Heels, to exceed us in number; but the Power is wholly on our side. We apprehend his Imperial Highness, the Heir to the Crown, to have some Tendency towards the High-Heels; at least, we can plainly discover one of his Heels higher than the other, which gives him a Hobble in his Gait. Now, in the midst of these intestine Disquiets, we are threatned with an Invasion from the Island of *Blefuscu*, which is the other great Empire of the Universe, almost as large and powerful as this of his Majesty. For as to what we have heard you affirm, that there are other Kingdoms and States in the World, inhabited by human Creatures as large as yourself, our philosophers are in much doubt, and would rather conjecture that you dropt from the Moon, or one of the Stars; because it is certain, that an hundred Mortals of your Bulk would, in a short time, destroy all the Fruits and Cattle of his Majesty's Dominions. Besides, our Historys of six thousand Moons make no mention of any other Regions, than the two great Empires of *Lilliput* and *Blefuscu*. Which two mighty Powers have, as I was going to tell you, been engaged in a most obstinate War for six and thirty Moons past It began upon the following Occasion. It is allowed on all hands, that the primitive way of breaking Eggs before we eat them, was upon the larger End: But his present Majesty's Grandfather, while he was a Boy, going to eat an Egg, and breaking it according to the ancient Practice, happened to cut one of his Fingers. Whereupon the Emperor his Father published an Edict, commanding all his Subjects, upon great Penaltys, to break the smaller End of their Eggs. The People so highly resented this Law, that our Historys

 tell

tell us there have been six Rebellions raised on that account; wherein one Emperor lost his Life, and another his Crown. These civil Commotions were constantly fomented by the Monarchs of *Blefuscu*; and when they were quelled, the Exiles always fled for Refuge to that Empire. It is computed, that eleven thousand Persons have, at several times, suffered Death, rather than submit to break their Eggs at the smaller End. Many hundred large Volumes have been published upon this Controversy: But the Books of the *Big-Endians* have been long forbidden, and the whole Party rendred incapable by Law of holding Employments. During the Course of these Troubles, the Emperors of *Blefuscu* did frequently expostulate by their Embassadors, accusing us of making a Schism in Religion, by offending against a fundamental Doctrine of our great Prophet *Lustrog*, in the fifty-fourth Chapter of the *Brundecral* (which is their *Alcoran.*) This, however, is thought to be a meer Strain upon the Text: For the Words are these; *That all true Believers shall break their Eggs at the convenient End:* and which is the convenient End, seems, in my humble Opinion, to be left to every Man's Conscience, or at least in the power of the Chief Magistrate to determine. Now the *Big-Endian* Exiles have found so much Credit in the Emperor of *Blefuscu's* Court, and so much private Assistance and Encouragement from their Party here at home, that a bloody War hath been carryed on between the two Empires for six and thirty Moons with various Success; during which time we have lost forty Capital Ships, and a much greater number of smaller Vessels, together with thirty thousand of our best Sea-men and Soldiers; and the Damage received by the Enemy is

 reckoned

reckoned to be somewhat greater than Ours. However, they have now equipped a numerous Fleet, and are just preparing to make a Descent upon us; and his Imperial Majesty placing great Confidence in your Valour and Strength, hath commanded Me to lay this Account of his Affairs before You.

I desired the Secretary to present my humble Duty to the Emperor, and to let him know, that I thought it would not become Me, who was a Foreigner, to interfere with Partys; but I was ready, with the hazard of my Life, to defend his Person and State against all Invaders.

CHAP. V

The Author by an extraordinary Stratagem prevents an invasion. A high Title of Honour is conferred upon him. Embassadors arrive from the Emperor of Blefuscu, *and sue for Peace. The Empress's Apartment on fire by an Accident; the Author instrumental in saving the rest of the Palace.*

THE Empire of *Blefuscu* is an Island situated to the North North-East side of *Lilliput*, from whence it is parted only by a Channel of eight hundred Yards wide. I had not yet seen it, and upon this Notice of an intended Invasion, I avoided appearing on that side of the Coast, for fear of being discovered by some of the Enemys Ships, who had received no Intelligence of me, all Intercourse between the two Empires having been strictly forbidden during the War, upon pain of Death, and an Embargo laid by our Emperor upon all Vessels whatsoever. I communicated to his Majesty a Project I had formed of seizing the Enemy's whole Fleet; which, as our Scouts assured us, lay at Anchor in the Harbour ready to sail with the first fair Wind. I consulted the most experienced Sea-men, upon the depth of the Channel, which they had often plummed, who told me, that in the middle at high Water it was seventy *Glumgluffs* deep, which is about six foot of *European* Measure; and the rest of it fifty *Glumgluffs* at most. I walked towards the North-East Coast over

against

against *Blefuscu*, and lying down behind a Hillock, took out my small Pocket Perspective-Glass, and viewed the Enemy's Fleet at Anchor, consisting of about fifty Men of War, and a great Number of Transports: I then came back to my House, and gave Order (for which I had a Warrant) for a great Quantity of the strongest Cable and Bars of Iron. The Cable was about as thick as Packthread, and the Bars of the length and size of a Knitting-Needle. I trebled the Cable to make it stronger, and for the same reason I twisted three of the Iron Bars together, binding the Extremitys into a Hook. Having thus fixed fifty Hooks to as many Cables, I went back to the North-East Coast, and putting off my Coat, Shooes, and Stockins, walked into the Sea in my Leathern Jerkin, about half an hour before high Water. I waded with what Haste I could, and swam in the middle about thirty Yards till I felt ground; I arrived to the Fleet in less than half an hour. The Enemy was so frighted when they saw me, that they leaped out of their Ships, and swam to shore, where there could not be fewer than thirty thousand Souls. I then took my Tackling, and fastning a Hook to the hole at the Prow of each, I tyed all the Cords together at the End. While I was thus employed, the Enemy discharged several thousand Arrows, many of which stuck in my Hands and Face; and besides the excessive smart, gave me much disturbance in my Work. My greatest Apprehension was for mine Eyes, which I should have infallibly lost, if I had not suddenly thought of an Expedient. I kept among other little Necessarys a pair of Spectacles in a private Pocket, which, as I observed before, had scaped the Emperor's Searchers. These I took out and

 fastned

fastned as strongly as I could upon my Nose, and thus armed went on boldly with my Work in spight of the Enemys Arrows, many of which struck against the Glasses of my Spectacles, but without any other Effect, further than a little to discompose them. I had now fastned all the Hooks, and taking the Knot in my Hand, began to pull; but not a Ship would stir, for they were all too fast held by their Anchors, so that the bold part of my Enterprize remained. I therefore let go the Cord, and leaving the Hooks fixed to the Ships, I resolutely cut with my Knife the Cables that fastned the Anchors, receiving above two hundred Shots in my Face and Hands; then I took up the knotted End of the Cables to which my Hooks were tyed, and with great ease drew fifty of the Enemy's largest Men of War after me.

The *Blefuscudians*, who had not the least Imagination of what I intended, were at first confounded with Astonishment. They had seen me cut the Cables, and thought my Design was only to let the Ships run a-drift, or fall foul on each other: but when they perceived the whole Fleet moving in Order, and saw me pulling at the End, they set up such a scream of Grief and Despair, that it is almost impossible to describe or conceive. When I had got out of danger, I stopped awhile to pick out the Arrows that stuck in my Hands and Face; and rubbed on some of the same Ointment that was given me at my first arrival, as I have formerly mentioned. I then took off my Spectacles, and waiting about an Hour, till the Tyde was a little fallen, I waded through the middle with my Cargo, and arrived safe at the Royal Port of *Lilliput*.

THE Emperor and his whole Court stood on the Shore expecting the Issue of this great Adventure. They saw the Ships move forward in a large Half-Moon, but could not discern me, who was up to my Breast in Water. When I advanced to the middle of the Channel, they were yet more in pain because I was under Water to my Neck. The Emperor concluded me to be drowned, and that the Enemy's Fleet was approaching in a hostile manner: But he was soon eased of his Fears, for the Channel growing shallower every step I made, I came in a short time within hearing, and holding up the end of the Cable by which the Fleet was fastned, I cryed in a loud Voice, *Long live the most puissant Emperor of Lilliput!* This great Prince received me at my Landing with all possible Encomiums, and created me a *Nardac* upon the spot, which is the highest Title of Honour among them.

HIS Majesty desired I would take some other Opportunity of bringing all the rest of his Enemy's Ships into his Ports. And so unmeasurable is the Ambition of Princes, that he seemed to think of nothing less than reducing the whole Empire of *Blefuscu* into a Province, and governing it by a Vice-Roy; of destroying the *Big-Endian* Exiles, and compelling that People to break the smaller end of their Eggs, by which he would remain the sole Monarch of the whole World. But I endeavoured to divert him from this Design, by many Arguments drawn from the Topicks of Policy as well as Justice: And I plainly protested, that I would never be an Instrument of bringing a Free and Brave People into Slavery. And when the Matter was debated in Council, the wisest part of the Ministry were of my Opinion.

 THIS

This open bold Declaration of mine was so opposite to the Schemes and Politicks of his Imperial Majesty, that he could never forgive it; he mentioned it in a very artful manner at Council, where I was told that some of the wisest appeared, at least, by their Silence, to be of my opinion; but others, who were my secret Enemies, could not forbear some Expressions, which by a side-wind reflected on me. And from this time began an Intrigue between his Majesty, and a Junto of Ministers maliciously bent against me, which broke out in less than two Months, and had like to have ended in my utter Destruction. Of so little weight are the greatest Services to Princes, when put into the Ballance with a Refusal to gratify their Passions.

About three Weeks after this Exploit, there arrived a solemn Embassy from *Blefuscu*, with humble Offers of a Peace; which was soon concluded upon Conditions very advantageous to our Emperor, wherewith I shall not trouble the Reader. There were six Ambassadors, with a Train of about five hundred Persons, and their Entry was very magnificent, suitable to the Grandeur of their Master, and the Importance of their Business. When their Treaty was finished, wherein I did them several good Offices by the Credit I now had, or at least appeared to have at Court, their Excellencies, who were privately told how much I had been their Friend, made me a Visit in Form. They began with many Compliments upon my Valour and Generosity, invited me to that Kingdom in the Emperor their Master's Name, and desired me to shew them some Proofs of my prodigious Strength, of which they had heard so many Wonders; wherein I readily obliged

 them,

them, but shall not trouble the Reader with the Particulars.

When I had for some time entertained their Excellencies, to their infinite Satisfaction and Surprize, I desired they would do me the Honour to present my most humble Respects to the Emperor their Master, the Renown of whose Virtues had so justly filled the whole World with Admiration, and whose Royal Person I resolved to attend before I returned to my own Country: accordingly, the next time I had the honour to see our Emperor, I desired his general Licence to wait on the *Blefuscudian* Monarch, which he was pleas'd to grant me, as I could perceive, in a very cold manner; but could not guess the Reason, till I had a Whisper from a certain Person, that *Flimnap* and *Bolgolam* had represented my Intercourse with those Ambassadors as a mark of Disaffection, from which I am sure my Heart was wholly free. And this was the first time I began to conceive some imperfect Idea of Courts and Ministers.

It is to be observed, that these Ambassadors spoke to me by an Interpreter, the Languages of both Empires differing as much from each other as any two in *Europe*, and each Nation priding itself upon the Antiquity, Beauty, and Energy of their own Tongues, with an avowed Contempt for that of their Neighbour; yet our Emperor standing upon the advantage he had got by the seisure of their Fleet, obliged them to deliver their Credentials, and make their Speech in the *Lilliputian* Tongue. And it must be confessed, that from the great Intercourse of Trade and Commerce between

 both

both Realms, from the continual Reception of Exiles, which is mutual among them, and from the Custom in each Empire to send their young Nobility and richer Gentry to the other, in order to polish themselves, by seeing the World, and understanding Men and Manners; there are few Persons of Distinction, or Merchants, or Seamen, who dwell in the Maritime Parts, but what can hold Conversation in both Tongues; as I found some Weeks after, when I went to pay my respects to the Emperor of *Blefuscu*, which in the midst of great Misfortunes, through the Malice of my Enemies, proved a very happy Adventure to me, as I shall relate in its proper place.

THE Reader may remember, that when I signed those Articles upon which I recovered my Liberty, there were some which I disliked upon account of their being too servile, neither could any thing but an extreme Necessity have forced me to submit. But being now a *Nardac*, of the highest Rank in that Empire, such Offices were looked upon as below my Dignity, and the Emperor (to do him Justice) never once mentioned them to me. However, it was not long before I had an Opportunity of doing his Majesty, at least, as I then thought, a most signal Service. I was alarmed at Midnight with the Cries of many hundred People at my Door; by which being suddenly awaked, I was in some kind of Terror. I heard the word *Burglum* repeated incessantly: several of the Emperor's Court making their Way through the Croud, intreated me to come immediately to the Palace, where her Imperial Majesty's Apartment was on fire, by the carelessness of a Maid of Honour, who fell asleep while she was reading

a Romance. I got up in an instant; and Orders being given to clear the way before me, and it being likewise a Moon-shine Night, I made a shift to get to the Palace without trampling on any of the People. I found they had already applied Ladders to the Walls of the Apartment, and were well provided with Buckets, but the Water was at some distance. These Buckets were about the size of a large Thimble, and the poor People supplied me with them as fast as they could; but the Flame was so violent, that they did little good. I might easily have stifled it with my Coat, which I unfortunately left behind me for haste, and came away only in my Leathern Jerkin. The Case seemed wholly desperate and deplorable, and this magnificent Palace would have infallibly been burnt down to the ground, if, by a Presence of Mind, unusual to me, I had not suddenly thought of an Expedient. I had the Evening before drank plentifully of a most delicious Wine, called *Glimigrim*, (the *Blefuscudians* call it *Flunec*, but ours is esteemed the better sort) which is very diuretick. By the luckiest Chance in the World, I had not discharged myself of any part of it. The Heat I had contracted by coming very near the Flames, and by labouring to quench them, made the Wine begin to operate by Urine; which I voided in such a Quantity, and applied so well to the proper Places, that in three Minutes the Fire was wholly extinguished, and the rest of that noble Pile, which had cost so many Ages in erecting, preserved from Destruction.

It was now Day-light, and I returned to my House, without waiting to congratulate with the Emperor; because, although I had done a very eminent piece of

Service, yet I could not tell how his Majesty might resent the manner by which I had performed it: For, by the fundamental Laws of the Realm, it is Capital in any Person, of what Quality soever, to make water within the Precincts of the Palace. But I was a little comforted by a Message from his Majesty, that he would give Orders to the Grand Justiciary for passing my Pardon in form; which, however, I could not obtain. And I was privately assured, the Empress, conceiving the greatest Abhorrence of what I had done, removed to the most distant side of the Court, firmly resolved that those Buildings should never be repaired for her Use; and, in the presence of her chief Confidents could not forbear vowing Revenge.

CHAP. VI

Of the Inhabitants of Lilliput; *their Learning, Laws, and Customs, the Manner of Educating their Children. The Author's way of living in that Country. His Vindication of a great Lady.*

ALTHOUGH I intend to leave the Description of this Empire to a particular Treatise, yet in the mean time I am content to gratify the curious Reader with some general Ideas. As the common Size of the Natives is somewhat under six Inches high, so there is an exact Proportion in all other Animals, as well as Plants and Trees: For instance, the tallest Horses and Oxen are between four and five Inches in height, the Sheep an Inch and a half, more or less; their Geese about the bigness of a Sparrow, and so the several Gradations downwards till you come to the smallest, which, to my sight, were almost invisible; but Nature hath adapted the Eyes of the *Lilliputians* to all Objects proper for their view: They see with great exactness, but at no great distance. And to show the sharpness of their Sight towards Objects that are near, I have been much pleased observing a Cook pulling a Lark, which was not so large as a common Fly; and a young Girl threading an invisible Needle with invisible Silk. Their tallest Trees are about seven foot high; I mean some of those in the great Royal Park, the Tops whereof I could but just reach with my Fist clenched. The other Vegetables are in the

same Proportion; but this I leave to the Reader's Imagination.

I shall say but little at present of their Learning, which for many Ages hath flourished in all its Branches among them: But their manner of writing is very peculiar, being neither from the left to the right, like the *Europeans*; nor from the right to the left, like the *Arabians*; nor from up to down, like the *Chinese*; nor from down to up, like the *Cascagians*; but aslant from one Corner of the Paper to the other, like Ladies in *England*.

THEY bury their Dead with their Heads directly downwards, because they hold an Opinion that in eleven thousand Moons they are all to rise again, in which Period the Earth (which they conceive to be flat) will turn upside down, and by this means they shall, at their Resurrection, be found ready standing on their Feet. The Learned among them confess the Absurdity of this Doctrine, but the Practice still continues, in compliance to the Vulgar.

THERE are some Laws and Customs in this Empire very peculiar, and if they were not so directly contrary to those of my own dear Country, I should be tempted to say a little in their justification. It is only to be wished, that they were as well executed. The first I shall mention, relates to Informers. All Crimes against the State are punished here with the utmost severity; but if the Person accused maketh his Innocence plainly to appear upon his Tryal, the Accuser is immediately put to an ignominious Death; and out of

 his

his Goods or Lands, the innocent Person is quadruply recompensed for the Loss of his Time, for the Danger he underwent, for the Hardship of his Imprisonment, and for all the Charges he hath been at in making his Defence. Or, if that Fund be deficient, it is largely supplyed by the Crown. The Emperor does also confer on him some publick Mark of his Favour, and Proclamation is made of his Innocence through the whole City.

They look upon Fraud as a greater Crime than Theft, and therefore seldom fail to punish it with Death; for they alledge, that Care and Vigilance, with a very common Understanding, may preserve a Man's Goods from Thieves, but Honesty has no fence against superior Cunning: and since it is necessary that there should be a perpetual Intercourse of Buying and Selling, and dealing upon Credit, where Fraud is permitted or connived at, or hath no Law to punish it, the honest Dealer is always undone, and the Knave gets the advantage. I remember when I was once interceding with the King for a Criminal who had wronged his Master of a great Sum of Money, which he had received by Order, and ran away with; and happening to tell his Majesty, by way of Extenuation, that it was only a breach of Trust; the Emperor thought it monstrous in me to offer, as a Defence, the greatest Aggravation of the Crime: and truly I had little to say in return, farther than the common Answer, that different Nations had different Customs; for, I confess, I was heartily ashamed.

Although we usually call Reward and Punishment the two Hinges upon which all Government turns, yet

I could never observe this Maxim to be put in practice by any Nation except that of *Lilliput*. Whoever can there bring sufficient Proof that he hath strictly observed the Laws of his Country for seventy three Moons, hath a claim to certain Privileges, according to his Quality and Condition of Life, with a proportionable Sum of Money out of a Fund appropriated for that Use: He likewise acquires the Title of *Snilpall*, or *Legal*, which is added to his Name, but does not descend to his Posterity. And these People thought it a prodigious Defect of Policy among us, when I told them that our Laws were enforced only by Penalties without any mention of Reward. It is upon this account that the Image of Justice, in their Courts of Judicature, is formed with six Eyes, two before, as many behind, and on each side one, to signify Circumspection; with a Bag of Gold open in her Right Hand, and a Sword sheathed in her Left, to shew she is more disposed to Reward than to Punish.

In chusing Persons for all Employments, they have more regard to good Morals than to great Abilities; for, since Government is necessary to Mankind, they believe that the common Size of Human Understandings, is fitted to some Station or other, and that Providence never intended to make the Management of publick Affairs a Mystery, to be comprehended only by a few Persons of sublime Genius, of which there seldom are three born in an Age: but they suppose Truth, Justice, Temperance, and the like, to be in every Man's power; the Practice of which Virtues, assisted by Experience and a good Intention, would qualify any Man for the Service of his Country, except

 where

where a Course of Study is required. But they thought the want of Moral Virtues was so far from being supplyed by superior Endowments of the Mind, that Employments could never be put into such dangerous Hands as those of Persons so qualify'd; and at least, that the Mistakes committed by Ignorance in a virtuous Disposition, would never be of such fatal Consequence to the Publick Weal, as the Practices of a Man whose Inclinations led him to be corrupt, and had great Abilities to manage, and multiply, and defend his Corruptions.

In like manner, the Disbelief of a Divine Providence renders a Man uncapable of holding any Publick Station; for since Kings avow themselves to be the Deputies of Providence, the *Lilliputians* think nothing can be more absurd than for a Prince to employ such Men as disown the Authority under which he acts.

In relating these and the following Laws, I would only be understood to mean the original Institutions, and not the most scandalous Corruptions into which these People are fallen by the degenerate Nature of Man. For as to that infamous Practice of acquiring great Employments by dancing on the Ropes, or Badges of Favour and Distinction by leaping over Sticks, and creeping under them, the Reader is to observe, that they were first introduced by the Grand-father of the Emperor now reigning, and grew to the present height, by the gradual increase of Party and Faction.

Ingratitude is among them a capital Crime, as we read it to have been in some other Countries; for they

 reason

reason thus, that whoever makes ill Returns to his Benefactor, must needs be a common Enemy to the rest of Mankind, from whom he hath received no Obligation, and therefore such a Man is not fit to live.

Their Notions relating to the Duties of Parents and Children differ extremely from ours. For, since the Conjunction of Male and Female is founded upon the great Law of Nature, in order to propagate and continue the Species, the *Lilliputians* will needs have it, that Men and Women are joined together like other Animals, by the Motives of Concupiscence; and that their Tenderness towards their Young proceeds from the like natural Principle: for which reason they will never allow, that a Child is under any Obligation to his Father for begetting him, or his Mother for bringing him into the World, which, considering the Miseries of human Life, was neither a Benefit in itself, or intended so by his Parents, whose Thoughts in their Love-Encounters were otherwise employ'd. Upon these, and the like Reasonings, their Opinion is, that Parents are the last of all others to be trusted with the Education of their own Children: and therefore they have in every Town publick Nurseries, where all Parents, except Cottagers and Labourers, are obliged to send their Infants of both Sexes to be reared and educated when they come to the Age of twenty Moons, at which time, they are supposed to have some Rudiments of Docility. These Schools are of several kinds, suited to different Qualities, and to both Sexes. They have certain Professors well skilled in preparing Children for such a condition of Life as befits the Rank of their Parents, and their own Capacities as well as In-

 clinations

clinations. I shall first say something of the Male Nurseries, and then of the Female.

THE Nurseries for Males of Noble or Eminent Birth, are provided with Grave and Learned Professors, and their several Deputies. The Clothes and Food of the Children are plain and simple. They are bred up in the Principles of Honour, Justice, Courage, Modesty, Clemency, Religion, and Love of their Country; they are always employed in some Business, except in the times of Eating and Sleeping, which are very short, and two Hours for Diversions, consisting of bodily Exercises. They are dressed by Men till four Years of Age, and then are obliged to dress themselves, although their Quality be ever so great; and the Women Attendants, who are aged proportionably to ours at fifty, perform only the most menial Offices. They are never suffered to converse with Servants, but go together in small or greater numbers to take their Diversions, and always in the presence of a Professor, or one of his Deputies; whereby they avoid those early bad Impressions of Folly and Vice to which our Children are subject. Their Parents are suffered to see them only twice a Year; the Visit is to last but an hour. They are allowed to kiss the Child at Meeting and Parting; but a Professor, who always stands by on those occasions, will not suffer them to whisper, or use any fondling Expressions, or bring any Presents of Toys, Sweetmeats, and the like.

THE Pension from each Family for the Education and Entertainment of a Child, upon failure of due payment, is levyed by the Emperor's Officers.

The Nurseries for Children of ordinary Gentlemen, Merchants, Traders, and Handicrafts, are managed proportionably after the same manner; only those designed for Trades, are put out Apprentices at Eleven years old, whereas those of Persons of Quality continue in their Nurseries till Fifteen, which answers to One and Twenty with us: but the Confinement is gradually lessened for the last three Years.

In the Female Nurseries, the young Girls of Quality are educated much like the Males, only they are dressed by orderly Servants of their own Sex, but always in the presence of a Professor or Deputy, till they come to dress themselves, which is at five Years old. And if it be found that these Nurses ever presume to entertain the Girls with frightful or foolish Stories, or the common Follies practised by Chamber-Maids among us, they are publickly whipped thrice about the City, imprisoned for a Year, and banished for Life to the most desolate Part of the Country. Thus the young Ladies there are as much ashamed of being Cowards and Fools, as the Men, and despise all personal Ornaments beyond Decency and Cleanliness: neither did I perceive any Difference in their Education, made by their Difference of Sex, only that the Exercises of the Females were not altogether so robust; and that some Rules were given them relating to domestick Life, and a smaller Compass of Learning was enjoined them: For the Maxim is, that among People of Quality, a Wife should be always a reasonable and agreeable Companion, because she cannot always be young. When the Girls are twelve Years old, which among them is the marriageable Age, their Parents or Guar-

 dians

dians take them home, with great Expressions of Gratitude to the Professors, and seldom without Tears of the young Lady and her Companions.

In the Nurseries of Females of the meaner sort, the Children are instructed in all kinds of Works proper for their Sex, and their several degrees: Those intended for Apprentices are dismissed at nine Years old, the rest are kept to thirteen.

The meaner Families who have Children at these Nurseries, are obliged, besides their annual Pension, which is as low as possible, to return to the Steward of the Nursery a small monthly Share of their Gettings, to be a Portion for the Child; and therefore all Parents are limited in their Expences by the Law. For the *Lilliputians* think nothing can be more unjust, than for People, in subservience to their own Appetites, to bring Children into the World, and leave the Burthen of supporting them on the Publick. As to Persons of Quality, they give Security to appropriate a certain Sum for each Child, suitable to their Condition; and these Funds are always managed with good Husbandry, and the most exact Justice.

The Cottagers and Labourers keep their Children at home, their Business being only to till and cultivate the Earth, and therefore their Education is of little consequence to the Publick; but the Old and Diseased among them are supported by Hospitals: for Begging is a Trade unknown in this Kingdom.

And here it may perhaps divert the curious Reader, to give some account of my Domestick, and my

 manner

manner of living in this Country, during a Residence of nine Months and thirteen Days. Having a Head mechanically turned, and being likewise forced by necessity, I had made for myself a Table and Chair convenient enough, out of the largest Trees in the Royal Park. Two hundred Sempstresses were employed to make me Shirts, and Linnen for my Bed and Table, all of the strongest and coarsest kind they could get; which, however, they were forced to quilt together in several Folds, for the thickest was some degrees finer than Lawn. Their Linnen is usually three Inches wide, and three Foot make a Piece. The Sempstresses took my Measure as I lay on the ground, one standing at my Neck, and another at my Mid-Leg, with a strong Cord extended, that each held by the end, while the third measured the length of the Cord with a Rule of an Inch long. Then they measured my right Thumb, and desired no more; for by a mathematical Computation, that twice round the Thumb is once round the Wrist, and so on to the Neck and the Waist, and by the help of my old Shirt, which I displayed on the Ground before them for a Pattern, they fitted me exactly. Three hundred Taylors were employed in the same manner to make me Clothes; but they had another Contrivance for taking my Measure. I kneeled down, and they raised a Ladder from the Ground to my Neck; upon this Ladder one of them mounted, and let fall a Plum-Line from my Collar to the Floor, which just answered the length of my Coat; but my Waist and Arms I measured myself. When my Clothes were finished, which was done in my House, (for the largest of theirs would not be able to hold them) they looked like the Patch-Work

 made

made by the Ladies in *England*, only that mine were all of a Colour.

I had three hundred Cooks to dress my Victuals, in little convenient Huts built about my House, where they and their Families lived, and prepared me two Dishes a-piece. I took up twenty Waiters in my hand, and placed them on the Table: an hundred more attended below on the Ground, some with Dishes of Meat, and some with Barrels of Wine, and other Liquors, slung on their Shoulders; all which the Waiters above drew up as I wanted, in a very ingenious manner, by certain Cords, as we draw the Bucket up a Well in *Europe*. A Dish of their Meat was a good Mouthful, and a Barrel of their Liquor a reasonable Draught. Their Mutton yields to ours, but their Beef is excellent. I have had a Sirloin so large, that I have been forced to make three Bits of it; but this is rare. My Servants were astonished to see me eat it Bones and all, as in our Country we do the Leg of a Lark. Their Geese and Turkeys I usually eat at a Mouthful, and I must confess they far exceed ours. Of their smaller Fowl I could take up twenty or thirty at the end of my Knife.

One day his Imperial Majesty being informed of my way of living, desired that himself, and his Royal Consort, with the young Princes of the Blood of both Sexes, might have the Happiness (as he was pleased to call it) of dining with me. They came accordingly, and I placed 'em upon Chairs of State on my Table, just over-against me, with their Guards about them. *Flimnap* the Lord High Treasurer attended there likewise,

 with

with his white Staff; and I observed he often looked on me with a sour Countenance, which I would not seem to regard, but eat more than usual, in honour to my dear Country, as well as to fill the Court with Admiration. I have some private Reasons to believe, that this Visit from his Majesty gave *Flimnap* an opportunity of doing me ill Offices to his Master. That Minister had always been my secret Enemy, though he outwardly caressed me more than was usual to the Moroseness of his Nature. He represented to the Emperor the low Condition of his Treasury; that he was forced to take up Money at great Discount; that Exchequer Bills would not circulate under nine *per Cent.* below Par; that in short I had cost his Majesty above a Million and a half of *Sprugs*, (their greatest Gold Coin, about the bigness of a Spangle;) and upon the whole, that it would be adviseable in the Emperor to take the first fair Occasion of dismissing me.

I am here obliged to vindicate the Reputation of an excellent Lady, who was an innocent Sufferer upon my account. The Treasurer took a fancy to be jealous of his Wife, from the Malice of some Evil Tongues, who informed him that her Grace had taken a violent Affection for my Person, and the Court-Scandal ran for some time, that she once came privately to my Lodging. This I solemnly declare to be a most infamous Falshood, without any Grounds, farther than that her Grace was pleased to treat me with all innocent Marks of Freedom and Friendship. I own she came often to my House, but always publickly, nor ever without three more in the Coach, who were usually her Sister and young Daughter, and some

 particular

particular Acquaintance; but this was common to many other Ladies of the Court. And I still appeal to my Servants round, whether they at any time saw a Coach at my Door without knowing what Persons were in it. On those Occasions, when a Servant had given me notice, my Custom was to go immediately to the Door; and after paying my Respects, to take up the Coach and two Horses very carefully in my Hands, (for if there were six Horses, the Postillion always unharnessed four) and place them on a Table, where I had fixed a moveable Rim quite round, of five Inches high, to prevent Accidents. And I have often had four Coaches and Horses at once on my Table full of Company, while I sat in my Chair leaning my Face towards them; and when I was engaged with one Sett, the Coachmen would gently drive the others round my Table. I have passed many an Afternoon very agreeably in these Conversations. But I defy the Treasurer, or his two Informers, (I will name them, and let 'em make their best of it) *Clustril* and *Drunlo*, to prove that any person ever came to me *incognito*, except the Secretary *Reldresal*, who was sent by express Command of his Imperial Majesty, as I have before related. I should not have dwelt so long upon this Particular, if it had not been a Point wherein the Reputation of a great Lady is so nearly concerned, to say nothing of my own; though I then had the Honour to be a *Nardac*, which the Treasurer himself is not, for all the World knows he is only a *Clumglum*, a Title inferiour by one degree, as that of a Marquis is to a Duke in *England*, although I allow he preceded me in right of his Post. These false Informations, which I afterwards came to the knowledge of, by an Accident not proper

to mention, made *Flimnap* the Treasurer shew his Lady for some time an ill Countenance, and me a worse; and although he were at last undeceived and reconciled to her, yet I lost all Credit with him, and found my Interest decline very fast with the Emperor himself, who was indeed too much governed by that Favourite.

CHAP. VII

The Author being informed of a Design to accuse him of High-Treason, makes his Escape to Blefuscu. *His Reception there.*

BEFORE I proceed to give an account of my leaving this Kingdom, it may be proper to inform the Reader of a private Intrigue which had been for two Months forming against me.

I had been hitherto all my Life a Stranger to Courts, for which I was unqualified by the Meanness of my Condition. I had indeed heard and read enough of the Dispositions of great Princes and Ministers; but never expected to have found such terrible Effects of them in so remote a Country, governed, as I thought, by very different Maxims from those in *Europe*.

When I was just preparing to pay my Attendance on the Emperor of *Blefuscu*, a considerable Person at Court (to whom I had been very serviceable at a time when he lay under the highest Displeasure of his Imperial Majesty) came to my House very privately at night in a close Chair, and without sending his Name, desired admittance: The Chair-Men were dismissed; I put the Chair, with his Lordship in it, into my Coat-Pocket; and giving Orders to a trusty Servant to say I was indisposed and gone to sleep, I fastened the Door of my House, placed the Chair on the Table, according

to my usual custom, and sate down by it. After the common Salutations were over, observing his Lordship's Countenance full of Concern; and enquiring into the reason, he desired I would hear him with patience in a Matter that highly concerned my Honour and my Life. His Speech was to the following effect, for I took Notes of it as soon as he left me.

You are to know, said he, that several Committees of Council have been lately called in the most private manner on your account: And it is but two days since his Majesty came to a full Resolution.

You are very sensible that *Skyris Bolgolam* (*Galbet*, or High Admiral) hath been your mortal Enemy almost ever since your Arrival. His original Reasons I know not, but his hatred is much encreased since your great Success against *Blefuscu*, by which his Glory, as Admiral, is obscur'd. This Lord, in conjunction with *Flimnap* the High Treasurer, whose Enmity against you is notorious on account of his Lady, *Limtoc* the General, *Lalcon* the Chamberlain, and *Balmuff* the grand Justiciary, have prepared Articles of Impeachment against you, for Treason, and other capital Crimes.

This Preface made me so impatient, being conscious of my own Merits and Innocence, that I was going to interrupt; when he entreated me to be silent, and thus proceeded.

Out of Gratitude for the Favours you have done me, I procured Information of the whole Proceedings, and a Copy of the Articles, wherein I venture my Head for your Service.

Articles of Impeachment against Quinbus Flestrin (*the* Man-Mountain.)

ARTICLE I.

WHEREAS, by a Statute made in the Reign of his Imperial Majesty *Calin Deffar Plune*, it is enacted, That whoever shall make water within the Precincts of the Royal Palace, shall be liable to the Pains and Penalties of High-Treason: Notwithstanding, the said *Quinbus Flestrin*, in open breach of the said Law, under colour of extinguishing the Fire kindled in the Apartment of his Majesty's dear Imperial Consort, did maliciously, traitorously, and devilishly, by discharge of his Urine, put out the said Fire kindled in the said Apartment, lying and being within the Precincts of the said Royal Palace, against the Statute in that Case provided, &c. against the Duty, &c.

ARTICLE II.

THAT the said *Quinbus Flestrin* having brought the Imperial Fleet of *Blefuscu* into the Royal Port, and being afterwards commanded by his Imperial Majesty to seize all the other Ships of the said Empire of *Blefuscu*, and reduce that Empire to a Province, to be governed by a Vice-Roy from hence, and to destroy and put to death not only all the *Big-Endian Exiles*, but likewise all the People of that Empire, who would not immediately forsake the *Big-Endian* Heresy: He the said *Flestrin*, like a false Traitor against his most Auspicious, Serene, Imperial Majesty, did petition to be excused from the said Service, upon pretence of unwillingness to force the Consciences, or destroy the Liberties and Lives of an innocent People.

Article III.

That, whereas certain Embassadors arrived from the Court of *Blefuscu* to sue for Peace in his Majesty's Court: He the said *Flestrin* did, like a false Traitor, aid, abet, comfort, and divert the said Embassadors, although he knew them to be Servants to a Prince who was lately an open Enemy to his Imperial Majesty, and in open War against his said Majesty.

Article IV.

That the said *Quinbus Flestrin*, contrary to the Duty of a faithful Subject, is now preparing to make a Voyage to the Court and Empire of *Blefuscu*, for which he hath received only verbal Licence from his Imperial Majesty; and under Colour of the said Licence, doth falsly and traitorously intend to take the said Voyage, and thereby to aid, comfort, and abet the Emperor of *Blefuscu*, so late an Enemy, and in open War with his Imperial Majesty aforesaid.

There are some other Articles, but these are the most important, of which I have read you an Abstract.

In the several Debates upon this Impeachment, it must be confessed that his Majesty gave many marks of his great Lenity, often urging the Services you had done him, and endeavouring to extenuate your Crimes. The Treasurer and Admiral insisted that you should be put to the most painful and ignominious Death, by setting fire on your House at Night, and the General was to attend with twenty thousand Men armed with poisoned Arrows to shoot you on the Face and Hands.

Some of your Servants were to have private Orders to strew a poisonous Juice on your Shirts, which would soon make you tear your own Flesh, and die in the utmost Torture. The General came into the same Opinion, so that for a long time there was a Majority against you. But his Majesty resolving, if possible, to spare your Life, at last brought off the Chamberlain.

Upon this incident, *Reldresal* Principal Secretary for private Affairs, who always approved himself your true Friend, was commanded by the Emperor to deliver his Opinion, which he accordingly did; and therein justify'd the good Thoughts you have of him. He allowed your Crimes to be great, but that still there was room for Mercy, the most commendable Virtue in a Prince, and for which his Majesty was so justly celebrated. He said the Friendship between you and him was so well known to the World, that perhaps the most honourable Board might think him partial: However, in obedience to the Command he had received, he would freely offer his Sentiments. That if his Majesty, in consideration of your Services, and pursuant to his own merciful Disposition, would please to spare your Life, and only give order to put out both your Eyes, he humbly conceived, that by this Expedient, Justice might in some measure be satisfied, and all the World would applaud the Lenity of the Emperor, as well as the fair and generous Proceedings of those who have the Honour to be his Counsellors. That the loss of your Eyes would be no impediment to your bodily strength, by which you might still be useful to his Majesty. That Blindness is an addition to Courage, by concealing Dangers from

us ;

us; that the Fear you had for your Eyes, was the greatest Difficulty in bringing over the Enemy's Fleet, and it would be sufficient for you to see by the Eyes of the Ministers, since the greatest Princes do no more.

THIS Proposal was received with the utmost Disapprobation by the whole Board. *Bolgolam*, the Admiral, could not preserve his Temper; but rising up in Fury, said, he wondered how the Secretary durst presume to give his Opinion for preserving the Life of a Traytor: That the Services you had performed, were, by all true Reasons of State, the great Aggravation of your Crimes; that you, who were able to extinguish the Fire, by discharge of Urine in her Majesty's Apartment (which he mentioned with horror) might, at another time, raise an Inundation by the same Means, to drown the whole Palace; and the same Strength which enabled you to bring over the Enemy's Fleet, might serve, upon the first Discontent to carry it back: That he had good Reasons to think you were a *Big-Endian* in your Heart; and as Treason begins in the Heart before it appears in Overt-Acts, so he accused you as a Traytor on that account, and therefore insisted you should be put to death.

THE Treasurer was of the same Opinion; he shewed to what streights his Majesty's Revenue was reduced by the charge of maintaining you, which would soon grow insupportable: That the Secretary's Expedient of putting out your Eyes was so far from being a Remedy against this Evil, it would probably encrease it, as it is manifest from the common practice of blinding some kind of Fowl, after which they fed the faster, and grew

sooner fat: That his sacred Majesty, and the Council, who are your Judges, were in their own Consciences fully convinced of your Guilt, which was a sufficient Argument to condemn you to Death, without the formal Proofs required by the strict Letter of the Law.

But his Imperial Majesty, fully determined against capital Punishment, was graciously pleased to say, that since the Council thought the loss of your Eyes too easy a Censure, some other may be inflicted hereafter. And your Friend the Secretary humbly desiring to be heard again, in answer to what the Treasurer had objected concerning the great Charge his Majesty was at in maintaining you, said, that his Excellency, who had the sole disposal of the Emperor's Revenue, might easily provide against that Evil, by gradually lessening your Establishment; by which, for want of sufficient Food, you would grow weak and faint, and lose your Appetite, and consequently decay and consume in a few Months; neither would the Stench of your Carcass be then so dangerous, when it should become more than half diminished; and immediately upon your Death, five or six Thousand of his Majesty's Subjects might, in two or three days, cut your Flesh from your Bones, take it away by Cart-loads, and bury it in distant parts to prevent Infection, leaving the Skeleton as a Monument of Admiration to Posterity.

Thus by the great Friendship of the Secretary, the whole Affair was compromised. It was strictly enjoin'd, that the Project of starving you by degrees should be kept a Secret, but the Sentence of putting out your Eyes was entered on the Books; none dis-

 senting

senting except *Bolgolam* the Admiral, who being a Creature of the Empress, was perpetually instigated by her Majesty to insist upon your Death, she having born perpetual Malice against you, on account of that infamous and illegal Method you took to extinguish the Fire in her Apartment.

In three days your friend the Secretary will be directed to come to your House, and read before you the Articles of Impeachment; and then to signify the great Lenity and Favour of his Majesty and Council, whereby you are only condemned to the loss of your Eyes, which his Majesty doth not question you will gratefully and humbly submit to; and twenty of his Majesty's Surgeons will attend, in order to see the Operation well performed, by discharging very sharp-pointed Arrows into the Balls of your Eyes, as you lie on the Ground.

I leave to your Prudence what Measures you will take; and to avoid Suspicion, I must immediately return in as private a manner as I came.

His Lordship did so, and I remained alone, under many Doubts and Perplexities of Mind.

It was a Custom introduced by this Prince and his Ministry, (very different, as I have been assured, from the Practices of former Times) that after the Court had decreed any cruel Execution, either to gratify the Monarch's Resentment, or the Malice of a Favourite, the Emperor made a Speech to his whole Council, expressing his great Lenity and Tenderness, as Quali-

ties known and confessed by all the World. This Speech was immediately published through the Kingdom; nor did any thing terrify the People so much as those Encomiums on his Majesty's Mercy; because it was observed, that the more these Praises were enlarged and insisted on, the more inhuman was the Punishment, and the Sufferer more innocent. And as to myself, I must confess, having never been designed for a Courtier either by my Birth or Education, I was so ill a Judge of Things, that I could not discover the Lenity and Favour of this Sentence, but conceived it (perhaps erroneously) rather to be rigorous than gentle. I sometimes thought of standing my Tryal, for although I could not deny the Facts alledged in the several Articles, yet I hoped they would admit of some Extenuations. But having in my Life perused many State-Tryals, which I ever observed to terminate as the Judges thought fit to direct, I durst not rely on so dangerous a Decision, in so critical a Juncture, and against such powerful Enemies. Once I was strongly bent upon Resistance, for while I had Liberty, the whole Strength of that Empire could hardly subdue me, and I might easily with Stones pelt the Metropolis to pieces; but I soon rejected that Project with Horror, by remembring the Oath I had made to the Emperor, the Favours I received from him, and the high Title of *Nardac* he conferred upon me. Neither had I so soon learned the Gratitude of Courtiers, to persuade myself that his Majesty's present Severities acquitted me of all past Obligations.

At last I fixed upon a Resolution, for which it is probable I may incur some Censure, and not unjustly;

for

for I confess I owe the preserving mine Eyes, and consequently my Liberty, to my own great Rashness and want of Experience: because if I had then known the Nature of Princes and Ministers, which I have since observed in many other Courts, and their Methods of treating Criminals less obnoxious than myself, I should with great alacrity and readiness have submitted to so easy a Punishment. But hurry'd on by the Precipitancy of Youth, and having his Imperial Majesty's Licence to pay my Attendance upon the Emperor of *Blefuscu*, I took this Oportunity, before the three Days were elapsed, to send a Letter to my Friend the Secretary, signifying my Resolution of setting out that Morning for *Blefuscu* pursuant to the leave I had got; and without waiting for an Answer, I went to that side of the Island where our Fleet lay. I seized a large Man of War, ty'd a Cable to the Prow, and lifting up the Anchors, I stript myself, put my Cloaths (together with my Coverlet, which I brought under my Arm) into the Vessel, and drawing it after me between wading and swimming, arrived at the Royal Port of *Blefuscu*, where the People had long expected me; they lent me two Guides to direct me to the Capital City, which is of the same Name. I held them in my Hands till I came within two hundred Yards of the Gate, and desired them to signify my Arrival to one of the Secretaries, and let him know, I there waited his Majesty's Commands. I had an Answer in about an Hour, that his Majesty, attended by the Royal Family, and great Officers of the Court, was coming out to receive me. I advanced a Hundred Yards. The Emperor, and his Train, alighted from their Horses, the Empress and Ladies from their Coaches, and I did not perceive they

 were

were in any Fright or Concern. I lay on the Ground to kiss his Majesty's and the Empress's hand. I told his Majesty that I was come according to my Promise, and with the Licence of the Emperor my Master, to have the Honour of seeing so Mighty a Monarch, and to offer him any Service in my power, consistent with my Duty to my own Prince; not mentioning a Word of my Disgrace, because I had hitherto no regular Information of it, and might suppose myself wholly ignorant of any such Design; neither could I reasonably conceive that the Emperor would discover the Secret while I was out of his power: wherein, however, it soon appeared I was deceived.

I shall not trouble the Reader with the particular Account of my Reception at this Court, which was suitable to the Generosity of so great a Prince; nor of the Difficulties I was in for want of a House and Bed, being forced to lie on the Ground, wrapt up in my Coverlet.

CHAP. VIII

The Author, by a lucky Accident, finds means to leave Blefuscu; *and, after some Difficulties, returns safe to his Native Country.*

THREE Days after my Arrival, walking out of Curiosity to the North-East Coast of the Island, I observed, about half a League off, in the Sea, somewhat that looked like a Boat overturned. I pulled off my Shoos and Stockings, and wading two or three Hundred Yards, I found the Object to approach nearer by force of the Tide; and then plainly saw it to be a real Boat, which I supposed might, by some Tempest, have been driven from a Ship; whereupon I returned immediately towards the City, and desired his Imperial Majesty to lend me twenty of the tallest Vessels he had left after the Loss of his Fleet, and three thousand Seamen under the Command of his Vice-Admiral. This Fleet sailed round, while I went back the shortest Way to the Coast where I first discovered the Boat; I found the Tide had driven it still nearer. The Seamen were all provided with Cordage, which I had beforehand twisted to a sufficient strength. When the Ships came up, I stript myself, and waded till I came within an hundred Yards of the Boat, after which I was forced to swim till I got up to it. The Seamen threw me the end of the Cord, which I fastned to

a Hole in the fore-part of the Boat, and the other end to a Man of War: But I found all my Labour to little purpose; for being out of my depth, I was not able to work. In this Necessity, I was forced to swim behind, and push the Boat forwards as often as I could, with one of my Hands; and the Tide favouring me, I advanced so far, that I could just hold up my Chin and feel the Ground. I rested two or three Minutes, and then gave the Boat another Shove, and so on till the Sea was no higher than my Arm-pits; and now the most laborious part being over, I took out my other Cables which were stowed in one of the Ships, and fastning them first to the Boat, and then to nine of the Vessels which attended me; the Wind being favourable the Sea-men towed, and I shoved till we arrived within forty Yards of the Shore; and waiting till the Tide was out, I got dry to the Boat, and by the assistance of two thousand Men, with Ropes and Engines, I made a shift to turn it on its Bottom, and found it was but little damaged.

I shall not trouble the Reader with the Difficulties I was under by the help of certain Paddles, which cost me ten days making, to get my Boat to the Royal Port of *Blefuscu*, where a mighty concourse of People appeared upon my arrival, full of Wonder at the sight of so prodigious a Vessel. I told the Emperor that my good Fortune had thrown this Boat in my way, to carry me to some place from whence I might return into my native Country, and begged his Majesty's Orders for getting Materials to fit it up, together with his Licence to depart; which, after some kind Expostulations, he was pleased to grant.

I did very much wonder, in all this time, not to have heard of any Express relating to me from our Emperor to the Court of *Blefuscu*. But I was afterwards given privately to understand, that his Imperial Majesty, never imagining I had the least notice of his Designs, believed I was only gone to *Blefuscu* in performance of my Promise, according to the Licence he had given me, which was well known at our Court, and would return in a few days when that Ceremony was ended. But he was at last in pain at my long absence; and after consulting with the Treasurer, and the rest of that Cabal, a Person of Quality was dispatched with the Copy of the Articles against me. This Envoy had Instructions to represent to the Monarch of *Blefuscu*, the great Lenity of his Master, who was content to punish me no further than with the loss of mine Eyes; that I had fled from Justice, and if I did not return in two Hours, I should be deprived of my title of *Nardac*, and declared a Traitor. The Envoy further added, that in order to maintain the Peace and Amity between both Empires, his Master expected, that his Brother of *Blefuscu* would give Orders to have me sent back to *Lilliput*, bound Hand and Foot, to be punished as a Traitor.

The Emperor of *Blefuscu* having taken three Days to consult, returned an Answer consisting of many Civilities and Excuses. He said, that as for sending me bound, his Brother knew it was impossible; that although I had deprived him of his Fleet, yet he owed great Obligations to me for many good Offices I had done him in making the Peace. That however both their Majesties would soon be made easy; for I had

 found

found a prodigious Vessel on the Shore, able to carry me on the Sea, which he had given order to fit up with my own Assistance and Direction; and he hoped in a few Weeks both Empires would be freed from so insupportable an Incumbrance.

With this Answer the Envoy returned to *Lilliput*, and the Monarch of *Blefuscu* related to me all that had past, offering me at the same time (but under the strictest Confidence) his gracious Protection, if I would continue in his Service; wherein although I believed him sincere, yet I resolved never more to put any confidence in Princes or Ministers, where I could possibly avoid it; and therefore, with all due Acknowledgments for his favourable Intentions, I humbly begged to be excused. I told him, that since Fortune, whether good or evil, had thrown a Vessel in my way, I was resolved to venture myself in the Ocean, rather than be an occasion of Difference between two such mighty Monarchs. Neither did I find the Emperor at all displeased; and I discovered by a certain Accident, that he was very glad of my Resolution, and so were most of his Ministers.

These Considerations moved me to hasten my Departure somewhat sooner than I intended; to which the Court, impatient to have me gone, very readily contributed. Five hundred Workmen were employed to make two Sails to my Boat, according to my Directions, by quilting thirteen fold of their strongest Linnen together. I was at the pains of making Ropes and Cables, by twisting ten, twenty or thirty of the thickest and strongest of theirs. A great Stone that

I happened to find, after a long Search by the Sea-shore, served me for an Anchor. I had the Tallow of three hundred Cows for greasing my Boat, and other Uses. I was at incredible pains in cutting down some of the largest Timber Trees for Oars and Masts, wherein I was, however, much assisted by his Majesty's Ship-Carpenters, who helped me in smoothing them, after I had done the rough Work.

In about a Month, when all was prepared, I sent to receive his Majesty's Commands, and to take my leave. The Emperor and Royal Family came out of the Palace; I lay down on my Face to kiss his Hand, which he very graciously gave me; so did the Empress, and young Princes of the Blood. His Majesty presented me with fifty Purses of two hundred *Sprugs* a-piece, together with his Picture at full length, which I put immediately into one of my Gloves, to keep it from being hurt. The Ceremonies at my Departure were too many to trouble the Reader with at this time.

I stored the Boat with the Carcasses of an hundred Oxen, and three hundred Sheep, with Bread and Drink proportionable, and as much Meat ready dressed as four hundred Cooks could provide. I took with me six Cows and two Bulls alive, with as many Yews and Rams, intending to carry them into my own Country, and propagate the Breed. And to feed them on board, I had a good Bundle of Hay, and a Bag of Corn. I would gladly have taken a Dozen of the Natives, but this was a thing the Emperor would by no means permit; and besides a diligent Search into my Pockets,

 his

his Majesty engaged my Honour not to carry away any of his Subjects, although with their own Consent and Desire.

HAVING thus prepared all things as well as I was able, I set sail on the twenty-fourth Day of *September* 1701, at six in the Morning; and when I had gone about four Leagues to the Northward, the Wind being at South-East, at six in the Evening, I descryed a small Island about half a League to the North-West. I advanced forward, and cast Anchor on the Lee-side of the Island, which seemed to be uninhabited. I then took some Refreshment, and went to my rest. I slept well, and I conjecture at least six Hours, for I found the Day broke in two Hours after I awaked. It was a clear Night. I eat my Breakfast before the Sun was up; and heaving Anchor, the Wind being favourable, I steered the same Course that I had done the Day before, wherein I was directed by my Pocket-Compass. My Intention was to reach, if possible, one of those Islands, which I had reason to believe lay to the North-East of *Van Diemen*'s Land. I discovered nothing all that Day; but upon the next, about three in the Afternoon, when I had by my Computation made twenty-four Leagues from *Blefuscu*, I descryed a Sail steering to the South-East; my Course was due East. I hailed her, but could get no Answer; yet I found I gained upon her, for the Wind slackned. I made all the sail I could, and in half an hour she spyed me, then hung out her Antient, and discharged a Gun. It is not easy to express the Joy I was in upon the unexpected hope of once more seeing my beloved Country, and the dear Pledges I left in it. The Ship slackned her Sails, and

I came up with her between five and six in the Evening, *September* 26; but my Heart leapt within me to see her *English* Colours. I put my Cows and Sheep into my Coat-Pockets, and got on board with all my little Cargo of Provisions. The Vessel was an *English* Merchant-Man, returning from *Japan* by the *North* and *South-Seas*; the Captain, Mr. *John Biddel* of *Deptford*, a very civil man, and an excellent Sailor. We were now in the Latitude of 30 Degrees South; there were about fifty Men in the Ship; and here I met an old Comrade of mine, one *Peter Williams*, who gave me a good Character to the Captain. This Gentleman treated me with Kindness, and desired I would let him know what place I came from last, and whither I was bound; which I did in a few Words, but he thought I was raving, and that the Dangers I underwent had disturbed my Head; whereupon I took my black Cattle and Sheep out of my Pocket, which, after great Astonishment, clearly convinced him of my Veracity. I then shewed him the Gold given me by the Emperor of *Lilliput*, together with his Majesty's Picture at full length, and some other Rarities of that Country. I gave him two Purses of two hundred *Sprugs* each, and promised, when we arrived in *England*, to make him a Present of a Cow and a Sheep big with Young.

I shall not trouble the Reader with a particular Account of this Voyage, which was very prosperous for the most part. We arrived in the *Downs* on the 13th of *April* 1702. I had only one Misfortune, that the Rats on board carried away one of my Sheep; I found her Bones in a Hole, picked clean from the Flesh. The rest of my Cattle I got safe on shore, and

set them a grazing in a Bowling-Green at *Greenwich*, where the Fineness of the Grass made them feed very heartily, though I had always feared the contrary: neither could I possibly have preserved them in so long a Voyage, if the Captain had not allowed me some of his best Bisket, which, rubbed to Powder, and mingled with Water, was their constant Food. The short time I continued in *England*, I made a considerable Profit by shewing my Cattle to many Persons of Quality, and others: and before I began my second Voyage, I sold them for six hundred Pounds. Since my last return, I find the Breed is considerably increased, especially the Sheep; which I hope will prove much to the Advantage of the Woollen Manufacture, by the Fineness of the Fleeces.

I stayed but two Months with my Wife and Family; for my insatiable Desire of seeing foreign Countries would suffer me to continue no longer. I left fifteen hundred Pounds with my Wife, and fixed her in a good House at *Redriff*. My remaining Stock I carried with me, part in Money, and part in Goods, in hopes to improve my Fortunes. My eldest Uncle *John* had left me an Estate in Land, near *Epping*, of about Thirty Pounds a Year; and I had a long Lease of the *Black-Bull* in *Fetter-Lane*, which yielded me as much more: so that I was not in any danger of leaving my Family upon the Parish. My Son *Johnny*, named so after his Uncle, was at the Grammar School, and a towardly Child. My daughter *Betty* (who is now well married, and has Children) was then at her Needle-Work. I took leave of my Wife, and Boy and Girl, with Tears on both sides, and went on board the *Adventure*,

a Merchant-Ship of three hundred Tons, bound for *Surat*, Captain *John Nicholas*, of *Leverpool* Commander. But my Account of this Voyage must be referred to the Second Part of my Travels.

The End of the FIRST PART.

TRAVELS

INTO SEVERAL

Remote Nations

OF THE

WORLD.

By Captain LEMUEL GULLIVER.

PART II.

A VOYAGE to BROBDINGNAG.

LONDON:
Printed in the Year, MDCCXXVI.

THE

CONTENTS

Chap. I

A Great Storm described, the Long-boat sent to fetch Water, the Author goes with it to discover the Country. He is left on Shore, is seized by one of the Natives, and carried to a Farmer's House. His Reception there with several Accidents that happened to them. A Description of the Inhabitants.

Chap. II

A Description of the Farmer's Daughter. The Author carried to a Market-Town, and then to the Metropolis. The Particulars of his Journey.

Chap. III

The Author sent for to Court. The Queen buys him of his Master the Farmer, and presents him to the King. He disputes with his Majesty's great Scholars. An Apartment at Court provided for the Author. He is in high Favour with the Queen. He stands up for the Honour of his own Country. His Quarrels with the Queen's Dwarf.

CHAP. IV

The Country described. A Proposal for correcting modern Maps. The King's Palace, and some Account of the Metropolis. The Author's way of travelling. The chief Temple described.

CHAP. V

Several Adventures that happened to the Author. The Execution of a Criminal. The Author shews his Skill in Navigation.

CHAP. VI

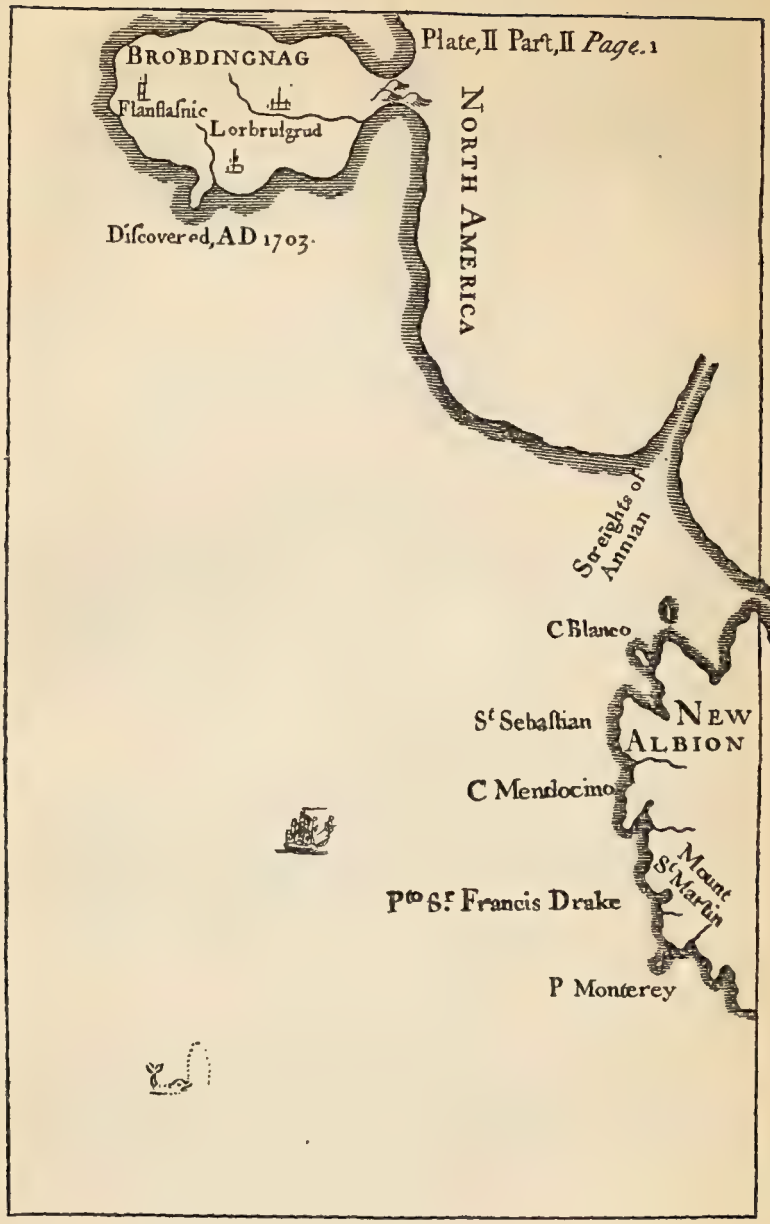
Several Contrivances of the Author to please the King and Queen. He shews his Skill in Musick. The King enquires into the State of Europe, *which the Author relates to him. The King's Observations thereon.*

CHAP. VII

The Author's Love of his Country. He makes a Proposal of much Advantage to the King, which is rejected. The King's great Ignorance in Politicks. The Learning of that Country very imperfect and confined. Their Laws, and military Affairs, and Parties in the State.

CHAP. VIII

The King and Queen make a Progress to the Frontiers. The Author attends them. The manner in which he leaves the Country very particularly related. He returns to England.


Plate, II Part, II Page. 1
BROBDINGNAG
Flanflasnic
Lorbrulgrud
Discovered, AD 1703.
NORTH AMERICA
Streights of Annian
C Blanco
St Sebastian
NEW ALBION
C Mendocino
Mount St Martin
Pto St. Francis Drake
P Monterey

TRAVELS

PART II

A Voyage *to* Brobdingnag

CHAP. I

A great Storm described, the long Boat sent to fetch Water, the Author goes with it to discover the Country. He is left on Shoar, is seized by one of the Natives, and carry'd to a Farmer's House. His Reception there, with several Accidents that happen'd there. A Description of the Inhabitants.

HAVING been condemned by Nature and Fortune to an active and restless Life, in ten Months after my Return, I again left my native Country, and took Shipping in the *Downs* on the 20*th* Day of *June* 1702. in the *Adventure*, Captain *John Nicholas*, a *Cornish* Man Commander, bound for *Surat*. We had a very prosperous Gale till we arrived at the *Cape* of *Good-hope*, where we landed for fresh Water,

but

but discovering a Leak we unshipped our Goods, and winter'd there; for the Captain falling sick of an Ague, we could not leave the *Cape* till the end of *March*. We then set sail, and had a good Voyage till we passed the *Streights* of *Madagascar*; but having got Northward of that Island, and to about five Degrees South Latitude, the Winds, which in those Seas are observed to blow a constant equal Gale between the North and West from the beginning of *December* to the beginning of *May*, on the 19th of *April* began to blow with much greater Violence, and more Westerly than usual, continuing so for twenty Days together, during which time we were driven a little to the East of the *Molucca* Islands, and about three Degrees Northward of the Line, as our Captain found by an Observation he took the 2*d* of *May*, at which time the Wind ceased, and it was a perfect Calm, whereat I was not a little rejoyced. But he being a Man well experienced in the Navigation of those Seas, bid us all prepare against a Storm, which accordingly happened the Day following: For a Southern Wind, called the Southern *Monsoon*, began to set in.

FINDING it was like to overblow, we took in our Sprit-sail, and stood by to hand the Fore-sail; but making foul Weather, we look'd the Guns were all fast, and handed the Missen. The Ship lay very broad off, so we thought it better spooning before the Sea, than trying or hulling. We reeft the Fore-sail and set him, we hawl'd aft the Fore-sheet; the Helm was hard a Weather. The Ship wore bravely. We belay'd the Fore-down-hall; but the Sail was split, and we hawl'd down the Yard, and got the Sail into the Ship, and

 unbound

unbound all the things clear of it. It was a very fierce Storm; the Sea broke strange and dangerous. We hawl'd off upon the Lanniard of the Whipstaff, and helped the Man at Helm. We would not get down our Top-Mast, but let all stand, because she scudded before the Sea very well, and we knew that the Top-Mast being aloft, the Ship was the wholesomer, and made better way through the Sea, seeing we had Sea-room. When the Storm was over, we set Fore-sail and Main-sail, and brought the Ship to. Then we set the Missen, Maintop-Sail, and the Foretop-Sail. Our Course was East North-east, the Wind was at South-west. We got the Star-board Tacks aboard, we cast off our Weather-braces and Lifts; we set in the Lee-braces, and hawl'd forward by the Weather-bowlings, and hawl'd them tight, and belayed them, and hawl'd over the Missen Tack to Windward, and kept her full and by as near as she would lye.

During this Storm, which was followed by a strong Wind West South-west, we were carried by my Computation about five hundred Leagues to the East, so that the oldest Sailor on Board could not tell in what part of the World we were. Our Provisions held out well, our Ship was staunch, and our Crew all in good Health; but we lay in the utmost Distress for Water. We thought it best to hold on the same Course, rather than turn more Northerly, which might have brought us to the North-west parts of great *Tartary*, and into the frozen Sea.

On the 16*th* Day of *June* 1703. a Boy on the Top-mast discovered Land. On the 17*th* we came in full

 View

View of a great Island or Continent, (for we knew not whether) on the South-side whereof was a small Neck of Land jutting out into the Sea, and a Creek too shallow to hold a Ship of above one hundred Tuns. We cast Anchor within a League of this Creek, and our Captain sent a dozen of his Men well armed in the Long Boat, with Vessels for Water if any could be found. I desired his leave to go with them, that I might see the Country, and make what Discoveries I could. When we came to Land we saw no River or Spring, nor any sign of Inhabitants. Our Men therefore wander'd on the Shore to find out some fresh Water near the Sea, and I walked alone about a Mile on the other Side, where I observed the Country all barren and rocky. I now began to be weary, and seeing nothing to entertain my Curiosity, I returned gently down towards the Creek; and the Sea being full in my View, I saw our Men already got into the Boat, and rowing for Life to the Ship. I was going to hollow after them, although it had been to little purpose, when I observed a huge Creature walking after them in the Sea, as fast as he could: He waded not much deeper than his Knees, and took prodigious strides: But our men had the start of him half a League, and the Sea thereabouts being full of sharp pointed Rocks, the Monster was not able to overtake the Boat. This I was afterwards told, for I durst not stay to see the Issue of that Adventure; but ran as fast as I could the way I first went; and then climbed up a steep Hill which gave me some Prospect of the Country. I found it fully cultivated; but that which first surprized me was the Length of the Grass, which in those Grounds that seemed to be kept for Hay, was about twenty foot high.

I FELL into a high Road, for so I took it to be, though it served to the Inhabitants only as a foot Path through a Field of Barley. Here I walked on for some time, but could see little on either Side, it being now near Harvest, and the Corn rising at least forty Foot. I was an Hour walking to the end of this Field, which was fenced in with a Hedge of at least one hundred and twenty Foot high, and the Trees so lofty that I could make no Computation of their Altitude. There was a Stile to pass from this Field into the next. It had four Steps, and a Stone to cross over when you came to the uppermost. It was impossible for me to climb this Stile, because every Step was six Foot high, and the upper Stone above twenty. I was endeavouring to find some Gap in the Hedge, when I discovered one of the Inhabitants in the next Field, advancing towards the Stile, of the same size with him whom I saw in the Sea pursuing our Boat. He appeared as tall as an ordinary Spire-steeple, and took about ten Yards at every Stride, as near as I could guess. I was struck with the utmost Fear and Astonishment, and ran to hide myself in the Corn, from whence I saw him at the top of the Stile, looking back into the next Field on the right hand, and heard him call in a Voice many degrees louder than a speaking Trumpet; but the Noise was so high in the Air, that at first I certainly thought it was Thunder. Whereupon seven Monsters like himself came towards him with Reaping-Hooks in their Hands, each Hook about the largeness of six Scythes. These People were not so well clad as the first, whose Servants or Labourers they seemed to be. For, upon some Words he spoke, they went to reap the Corn in the Field where I lay. I kept from them

at

at as great a distance as I could, but was forced to move with extream Difficulty, for the Stalks of the Corn were sometimes not above a Foot distant, so that I could hardly squeeze my Body betwixt them. I made a shift to go forward till I came to a part of the Field where the Corn had been laid by the Rain and Wind. Here it was impossible for me to advance a step: for the Stalks were so interwoven that I could not creep thorough, and the Beards of the fallen Ears so strong and pointed that they pierced through my Cloaths into my Flesh. At the same time I heard the Reapers not above an hundred Yards behind me. Being quite dispirited with Toil, and wholly overcome by Grief and Despair, I lay down between two Ridges, and heartily wished I might there end my Days. I bemoaned my desolate Widow, and Fatherless Children. I lamented my own Folly and Wilfulness in attempting a second Voyage against the Advice of all my Friends and Relations. In this terrible Agitation of Mind I could not forbear thinking of *Lilliput*, whose Inhabitants looked upon me as the greatest Prodigy that ever appeared in the World: where I was able to draw an Imperial Fleet in my Hand, and perform those other Actions which will be recorded for ever in the Chronicles of that Empire, while Posterity shall hardly believe them, although attested by Millions. I reflected what a Mortification it must prove to me to appear as inconsiderable in this Nation as one single *Lilliputian* would be among us. But, this I conceived was to be the least of my Misfortunes: For, as human Creatures are observed to be more savage and cruel in Proportion to their Bulk, what could I expect but to be a Morsel in the Mouth of the first among these

 enormous

enormous Barbarians that should happen to seize me? Undoubtedly Philosophers are in the right when they tell us, that nothing is great or little otherwise than by Comparison. It might have pleased Fortune to have let the *Lilliputians* find some Nation, where the People were as diminutive with respect to them, as they were to me. And who knows but that even this prodigious Race of Mortals might be equally overmatched in some distant part of the World, whereof we have yet no Discovery?

Scared and confounded as I was, I could not forbear going on with these Reflections, when one of the Reapers approaching within ten Yards of the Ridge where I lay, made me apprehend that with the next Step I should be squashed to Death under his Foot, or cut in two with his Reaping Hook. And therefore when he was again about to move, I screamed as loud as Fear could make me. Whereupon the huge Creature trod short, and looking round about under him for some time, at last espied me as I lay on the Ground. He considered a while with the Caution of one who endeavours to lay hold on a small dangerous Animal in such a manner that it shall not be able either to scratch or to bite him, as I my self have sometimes done with a *Weasel* in *England*. At length he ventured to take me up behind by the middle between his Forefinger and Thumb, and brought me within three Yards of his Eyes, that he might behold my Shape more perfectly. I guessed his Meaning, and my good Fortune gave me so much Presence of Mind, that I resolved not to struggle in the least as he held me in the Air above sixty Foot from the Ground, although

he grievously pinched my Sides, for fear I should slip through his Fingers. All I ventured was to raise mine Eyes towards the Sun, and place my Hands together in a supplicating Posture, and to speak some Words in an humble melancholy Tone, suitable to the Condition I then was in. For I apprehended every Moment that he would dash me against the Ground, as we usually do any little hateful Animal which we have a mind to destroy. But my good Star would have it, that he appeared pleased with my Voice and Gestures, and began to look upon me as a Curiosity, much wondering to hear me pronounce articulate Words, although he could not understand them. In the mean time I was not able to forbear groaning and shedding Tears, and turning my Head towards my Sides; letting him know, as well as I could, how cruelly I was hurt by the Pressure of his Thumb and Finger. He seemed to apprehend my Meaning; for, lifting up the Lappet of his Coat, he put me gently into it, and immediately ran along with me to his Master, who was a substantial Farmer, and the same Person I had first seen in the Field.

THE Farmer having (as I supposed by their Talk) received such an Account of me as his Servant could give him, took a piece of a small Straw, about the size of a walking Staff, and therewith lifted up the Lappets of my Coat; which it seems he thought to be some kind of Covering that Nature had given me. He blew my Hairs aside to take a better view of my Face. He called his Hinds about him, and asked them (as I afterwards learned) whether they had ever seen in the Fields any little Creature that resembled me. He then

 placed

placed me softly on the Ground upon all four, but I got immediately up, and walked slowly backwards and forwards, to let those People see I had no Intent to run away. They all sate down in a Circle about me, the better to observe my Motions. I pulled off my Hat, and made a low Bow towards the Farmer. I fell on my Knees, and lifted up my Hands and Eyes, and spoke several Words as loud as I could: I took a purse of Gold out of my Pocket, and humbly presented it to him. He received it on the Palm of his Hand, then applied it close to his Eye, to see what it was, and afterwards turned it several times with the Point of a Pin (which he took out of his Sleeve,) but could make nothing of it. Whereupon I made a Sign that he should place his Hand on the Ground. I then took the Purse, and opening it, poured all the Gold into his Palm. There were six *Spanish*-Pieces of four Pistoles each, beside twenty or thirty smaller Coyns. I saw him wet the Tip of his little Finger upon his Tongue, and take up one of my largest Pieces, and then another, but he seemed to be wholly ignorant what they were. He made me a Sign to put them again into my Purse, and the Purse again into my Pocket, which after offering to him several times, I thought it best to do.

The Farmer by this time was convinced I must be a rational Creature. He spoke often to me, but the Sound of his Voice pierced my Ears like that of a Water-Mill, yet his Words were articulate enough. I answered as loud as I could in several Languages, and he often laid his Ear within two Yards of me, but all in vain, for we were wholly unintelligible to each other. He then sent his Servants to their Work, and

taking his Handkerchief out of his Pocket, he doubled and spread it on his left Hand, which he placed flat on the Ground with the Palm upwards, making me a Sign to step into it, as I could easily do, for it was not above a Foot in thickness. I thought it my part to obey, and for fear of falling, laid my self at Length upon the Handkerchief, with the Remainder of which he lapped me up to the Head for further Security, and in this manner carried me home to his House. There he called his Wife, and shewed me to her; but she screamed and ran back, as Women in *England* do at the Sight of a Toad or a Spider. However, when she had a while seen my Behaviour, and how well I observed the signs her Husband made, she was soon reconciled, and by degrees grew extreamly tender of me.

IT was about twelve at Noon, and a Servant brought in Dinner. It was only one substantial Dish of Meat (fit for the plain Condition of an Husband-Man) in a Dish of about four and twenty Foot Diameter. The Company were the Farmer and his Wife, three Children, and an old Grandmother: When they were sat down, the Farmer placed me at some distance from him on the Table, which was thirty Foot high from the Floor. I was in a terrible Fright, and kept as far as I could from the Edge for fear of falling. The Wife minced a bit of Meat, then crumbled some Bread on a Trencher, and placed it before me. I made her a low Bow, took out my Knife and Fork, and fell to eat, which gave them exceeding Delight. The Mistress sent her Maid for a small Dram-cup, which held about three Gallons, and filled it with Drink; I took up the Vessel with much difficulty in both Hands, and in

a most respectful manner drank to her Lady-ships Health, expressing the Words as loud as I could in *English*, which made the Company laugh so heartily, that I was almost deafned with the Noise. This Liquor tasted like a small Cyder, and was not unpleasant. Then the Master made me a sign to come to his Trencher side; but as I walked on the Table, being in great surprize all the time, as the indulgent Reader will easily conceive and excuse, I happened to stumble against a Crust, and fell flat on my Face, but received no hurt. I got up immediately, and observing the good People to be in much concern, I took my Hat (which I held under my Arm out of good Manners) and waving it over my Head, made three Huzza's to shew I had got no Mischief by my Fall. But advancing forwards toward my Master (as I shall henceforth call him) his youngest Son who sate next him, an arch Boy of about ten Years old, took me up by the Legs, and held me so high in the Air, that I trembled every Limb; but his Father snatched me from him, and at the same time gave him such a Box on the left Ear, as would have felled an *European* Troop of Horse to the Earth, ordering him to be taken from the Table. But, being afraid the Boy might owe me a spight, and well remembring how mischievous all Children among us naturally are to Sparrows, Rabbits, young Kittens, and Puppy Dogs, I fell on my Knees, and pointing to the Boy, made my Master to understand, as well as I could, that I desired his Son might be pardoned. The Father complied, and the Lad took his Seat again; whereupon I went to him and kissed his Hand, which my Master took, and made him stroak me gently with it.

In the midst of Dinner, my Mistress's favourite Cat leapt into her Lap. I heard a noise behind me like that of a dozen Stocking-Weavers at work; and turning my Head I found it proceeded from the purring of this Animal, who seemed to be three times larger than an Ox, as I computed by the View of her Head, and one of her Paws, while her Mistress was feeding and stroaking her. The Fierceness of this Creature's Countenance altogether discomposed me; though I stood at the further End of the Table, above fifty Foot off, and although my Mistress held her fast for fear she might give a spring, and seize me in her Talons. But it happened there was no Danger; for the Cat took not the least Notice of me when my Master placed me within three Yards of her. And as I have been always told, and found true by Experience in my Travels, that flying, or discovering Fear before a fierce Animal, is a certain way to make it pursue or attack you, so I resolved in this dangerous Juncture to show no manner of Concern. I walked with Intrepidity five or six times before the very Head of the Cat, and came within half a Yard of her; whereupon she drew her self back, as if she were more afraid of me: I had less Apprehension concerning the Dogs, whereof three or four came into the Room, as it is usual in Farmers Houses; one of which was a Mastiff equal in bulk to four Elephants, and a Grey-hound somewhat taller than the Mastiff, but not so large.

When Dinner was almost done, the Nurse came in with a Child of a Year old in her Arms, who immediately spyed me, and began a Squall that you might have heard from *London-Bridge* to *Chelsea*, after the

 usual

usual Oratory of Infants, to get me for a Play-thing. The Mother out of pure Indulgence took me up, and put me towards the Child, who presently seized me by the Middle, and got my Head in his Mouth, where I roared so loud that the Urchin was frighted, and let me drop, and I should infallibly have broke my Neck if the Mother had not held her Apron under me. The Nurse to quiet her Babe made use of a Rattle, which was a kind of hollow Vessel filled with great Stones, and fastned by a Cable to the Child's Wast: But all in vain, so that she was forced to apply the last Remedy by giving it suck. I must confess no Object ever disgusted me so much as the sight of her monstrous Breast, which I cannot tell what to compare with, so as to give the curious Reader an Idea of its Bulk, Shape and Colour. It stood prominent six Foot, and could not be less than sixteen in Circumference. The Nipple was about half the Bigness of my Head, and the Hew both of that and the Dug so varified with Spots, Pimples and Freckles, that nothing could appear more nauseous: For I had a near sight of her, she sitting down the more conveniently to give Suck, and I standing on the Table. This made me reflect upon the fair Skins of our *English* Ladies, who appear so beautiful to us, only because they are of our own size, and their Defects not to be seen but through a Magnifying-Glass, where we find by Experiment that the smoothest and whitest Skins look rough and coarse, and ill coloured.

I REMEMBER when I was at *Lilliput*, the Complexions of those diminutive People appeared to me the fairest in the World, and talking upon this subject with a

Person of Learning there, who was an intimate Friend of mine, he said that my Face appeared much fairer and smoother when he looked on me from the Ground, than it did upon a nearer View when I took him up in my Hand and brought him close, which he confessed was at first a very shocking sight. He said he could discover great Holes in my Skin; that the Stumps of my Beard were ten times stronger than the Bristles of a Boar, and my Complexion made up of several Colours altogether disagreeable: Although I must beg leave to say for myself, that I am as fair as most of my Sex and Country, and very little Sunburnt by all my Travels. On the other side, discoursing of the Ladies in that Emperor's Court, he used to tell me, one had Freckles, another too wide a Mouth, a third too large a Nose, nothing of which I was able to distinguish. I confess this Reflection was obvious enough; which however I could not forbear, lest the Reader might think those vast Creatures were actually deformed: For I must do them Justice to say they are a comely Race of People; and particularly the Features of my Master's Countenance, although he were but a Farmer, when I beheld him from the Height of sixty Foot, appeared very well proportioned.

WHEN Dinner was done, my Master went out to his Labourers, and as I could discover by his Voice and Gesture, gave his Wife a strict Charge to take care of me. I was very much tired, and disposed to sleep, which my Mistress perceiving, she put me on her own Bed, and covered me with a clean white Handkerchief, but larger and coarser than the Main Sail of a Man of War.

I slept about two Hours, and dreamed I was at home with my Wife and Children, which aggravated my Sorrows when I awaked and found my self alone in a vast Room, between two and three hundred Foot wide, and above two hundred high, lying in a Bed twenty Yards wide. My Mistress was gone about her household Affairs, and had locked me in. The Bed was eight Yards from the Floor. Some natural Necessities required me to get down, I durst not presume to call, and if I had, it would have been in vain with such a Voice as mine at so great a distance as from the Room where I lay to the Kitchen where the Family kept. While I was under these Circumstances two Rats crept up the Curtains, and ran smelling backwards and forwards on the Bed. One of them came up almost to my Face, whereupon I rose in a Fright, and drew out my Hanger to defend my self. These horrible Animals had the Boldness to attack me on both sides, and one of them held his Fore-feet at my Collar; but I had the good Fortune to rip up his Belly before he could do me any Mischief. He fell down at my Feet, and the other seeing the Fate of his Comrade, made his Escape, but not without one good Wound on the Back, which I gave him as he fled, and made the Blood run trickling from him. After this Exploit I walked gently to and fro on the Bed, to recover my Breath and Loss of Spirits. These Creatures were of the size of a large Mastiff, but infinitely more nimble and fierce, so that if I had taken off my Belt before I went to sleep, I must have infallibly been torn to pieces and devoured. I measured the Tail of the dead Rat, and found it to be two Yards long wanting an Inch; but it went against my Stomach to drag the Carcass off

 the

the Bed, where it lay still bleeding; I observed it had yet some Life, but with a strong Slash cross the Neck I thoroughly dispatched it.

SOON after my Mistress came into the Room, who seeing me all bloody, ran and took me up in her Hand. I pointed to the dead *Rat*, smiling and making other Signs to shew I was not hurt, whereat she was extremely rejoyced, calling the Maid to take up the dead *Rat* with a pair of Tongs, and throw it out of the Window. Then she set me on a Table where I shewed her my Hanger all bloody, and wiping it on the Lappet of my Coat, returned it to the Scabbard. I was pressed to do more than one Thing, which another could not do for me, and therefore endeavoured to make my Mistress understand that I desired to be set down on the Floor; which after she had done, my Bashfulness would not suffer me to express my self farther than by pointing to the Door, and bowing several times. The good Woman with much Difficulty at last perceived what I would be at, and taking me up again in her Hand, walked into the Garden where she set me down. I went on one side about two hundred Yards, and beckoning to her not to look or to follow me, I hid my self between two Leaves of Sorrel, and there discharged the Necessities of Nature.

I HOPE the gentle Reader will excuse me for dwelling on these and the like Particulars, which however insignificant they may appear to grovelling vulgar Minds, yet will certainly help a Philosopher to enlarge his Thoughts and Imagination, and apply them to the Benefit of publick as well as private Life, which was

 my

my sole Design in presenting this and other Accounts of my Travels to the World; wherein I have been chiefly studious of Truth, without affecting any Ornaments of Learning or of Style. But the whole Scene of this Voyage made so strong an Impression on my Mind, and is so deeply fixed in my Memory, that in committing it to Paper I did not omit one material Circumstance: However upon a strict Review, I blotted out several Passages of less Moment which were in my first Copy, for fear of being censured as tedious and trifling, whereof Travellers are often, perhaps not without Justice, accused.

CHAP. II

A Description of the Farmer's Daughter. The Author carried to a Market-Town, and then to the Metropolis. The Particulars of his Journey.

MY Mistress had a Daughter of nine Years old, a Child of toward parts for her Age, very dextrous at her Needle, and skilful in dressing her Baby. Her Mother and she contrived to fit up the Baby's Cradle for me against Night: The Cradle was put into a small Drawer of a Cabinet, and the Drawer placed upon a hanging Shelf for fear of the *Rats*. This was my Bed all the time I stay'd with those People, though made more convenient by degrees, as I began to learn their Language, and make my Wants known. This young Girl was so handy, that after I had once or twice pulled off my Cloaths before her, she was able to dress and undress me, though I never gave her that Trouble when she would let me do either my self. She made me seven Shirts, and some other Linen of as fine Cloth as could be got, which indeed was coarser than Sackcloth; and these she constantly washed for me with her own Hands. She was likewise my School-Mistress to teach me the Language: When I pointed to any thing, she told me the name of it in her own Tongue, so that in a few Days I was able to call for whatever I had a mind to. She was very good natur'd, and not above forty Foot high, being little

for

for her Age. She gave me the Name of *Grildrig*, which the Family took up, and afterwards the whole Kingdom. The Word imports what the *Latins* call *Nanunculus*, the *Italians Homunceletino*, and the *English Mannikin*. To her I chiefly owe my Preservation in that Country: We never parted while I was there; I called her my *Glumdalclitch*, or little Nurse: And I should be guilty of great Ingratitude if I omitted this honourable Mention of her Care and Affection towards me, which I heartily wish it lay in my Power to requite as she deserves, instead of being the innocent but unhappy Instrument of her Disgrace, as I have too much reason to fear.

It now began to be known and talked of in the Neighbourhood, that my Master had found a strange Animal in the Field about the bigness of a *Splacknuck*, but exactly shaped in every part like a human Creature; which it likewise imitated in all its Actions; seemed to speak in a little Language of its own, had already learned several Words of theirs, went erect upon two Legs, was tame and gentle, would come when it was called, do whatever it was bid, had the finest Limbs in the World, and a Complexion fairer than a Nobleman's Daughter of three Years old. Another Farmer who lived hard by, and was a particular Friend of my Master, came on a Visit on purpose to enquire into the Truth of this Story. I was immediately produced, and placed upon a Table, where I walked as I was commanded, drew my Hanger, put it up again, made my Reverence to my Master's Guest, asked him in his own Language how he did, and told him he was welcome, just as my little Nurse

 had

had instructed me. This Man, who was old and dim sighted, put on his Spectacles to behold me better, at which I could not forbear laughing very heartily, for his Eyes appeared like the Full-Moon shining into a Chamber at two Windows. Our People, who discovered the cause of my Mirth, bore me company in Laughing, at which the old Fellow was Fool enough to be Angry and out of Countenance. He had the Character of a great Miser, and to my Misfortune he well deserved it by the cursed Advice he gave my Master to shew me as a Sight upon a Market-Day in the next Town, which was half an hour's riding, about two and twenty Miles from our House. I guessed there was some Mischief contriving, when I observed my Master and his Friend whispering long together, sometimes pointing at me; and my Fears made me fancy that I overheard and understood some of their Words. But the next Morning *Glumdalclitch* my little Nurse told me the whole Matter, which she had cunningly picked out from her Mother. The poor Girl laid me on her Bosom, and fell a weeping with Shame and Grief. She apprehended some Mischief would happen to me from rude vulgar Folks, who might squeeze me to Death or break one of my Limbs by taking me in their Hands. She had also observed how modest I was in my Nature, how nicely I regarded my Honour, and what an Indignity I should conceive it to be exposed for Money as a publick Spectacle to the meanest of the People. She said, her *Papa* and *Mamma* had promised that *Grildrig* should be hers, but now she found they meant to serve her as they did last Year, when they pretended to give her a Lamb, and yet, as soon as it was fat, sold it to a Butcher. For my own part, I may

 truly

truly affirm that I was less concerned than my Nurse. I had a strong Hope which never left me, that I should one Day recover my Liberty; and as to the Ignominy of being carried about for a Monster, I considered my self to be a perfect Stranger in the Country, and that such a Misfortune could never be charged upon me as a Reproach if ever I should return to *England*; since the King of *Great Britain* himself, in my Condition, must have undergone the same Distress.

My Master, pursuant to the advice of his Friend, carried me in a Box the next Market-day to the neighbouring Town, and took along with him his little Daughter my Nurse upon a Pillion behind him. The Box was close on every side, with a little Door for me to go in and out, and a few Gimlet-holes to let in Air. The Girl had been so careful to put the Quilt of her Baby's Bed into it, for me to lye down on. However, I was terribly shaken and discomposed in this Journey, though it were but of half an Hour. For the Horse went about forty Foot at every Step, and trotted so high, that the Agitation was equal to the rising and falling of a Ship in a great Storm, but much more frequent: Our Journey was somewhat further than from *London* to St. *Albans*. My Master alighted at an Inn which he used to frequent; and after consulting a while with the Inn-keeper, and making some necessary Preparations, he hired the *Grultrud*, or Cryer to give notice through the Town of a strange Creature to be seen at the Sign of the Green *Eagle* not so big as a *Splacnuck* (an Animal in that Country very finely shaped, about six Foot long,) and in every part of the Body resembling an human Creature, could speak

 several

several Words, and perform an hundred diverting Tricks.

I WAS placed upon a Table in the largest Room of the Inn, which might be near three hundred Foot Square. My little Nurse stood on a low Stool close to the Table, to take care of me, and direct what I should do. My Master, to avoid a Croud, would suffer only thirty People at a time to see me. I walked about on the Table as the Girl commanded; she asked me Questions as far as she knew my Understanding of the Language reached, and I answered them as loud as I could. I turned about several times to the Company, paid my humble Respects, said they were welcome, and used some other Speeches I had been taught. I took up a Thimble filled with Liquor, which *Glumdalclitch* had given me for a Cup, and drank their Health. I drew out my Hanger, and flourished with it after the manner of Fencers in *England*. My Nurse gave me part of a Straw, which I exercised as a Pike, having learned the Art in my Youth. I was that day shewn to twelve Sets of Company, and as often forced to go over again with the same Fopperies, till I was half dead with Weariness and Vexation. For, those who had seen me made such wonderful Reports, that the People were ready to break down the Doors to come in. My Master for his own Interest would not suffer any one to touch me except my Nurse; and, to prevent danger, Benches were set round the Table at such a distance as put me out of every body's reach. However, an unlucky School-Boy aimed a hazel Nut directly at my Head, which very narrowly missed me; otherwise, it came with so much violence that it would

have infallibly knocked out my Brains, for it was almost as large as a small Pumpion: But I had the Satisfaction to see the young Rogue well beaten, and turned out of the Room.

My Master gave publick notice, that he would show me again the next Market-day, and in the mean time he prepared a more convenient Vehicle for me, which he had reason enough to do; for I was so tired with my first Journey, and with entertaining Company for eight Hours together, that I could hardly stand upon my Legs, or speak a Word. It was at least three Days before I recovered my Strength; and that I might have no rest at home, all the neighbouring Gentlemen from an hundred Miles round, hearing of my Fame, came to see me at my Master's own House. There could not be fewer than thirty Persons with their Wives and Children (for the Country is very populous;) and my Master demanded the rate of a full Room whenever he shewed me at Home, although it were only to a single Family. So that for some time I had but little ease every Day of the Week (except *Wednesday*, which is their Sabbath) although I were not carried to the Town.

My Master finding how profitable I was like to be, resolved to carry me to the most considerable Cities of the Kingdom. Having therefore provided himself with all things necessary for a long Journey, and settled his affairs at Home, he took leave of his Wife, and upon the 17*th* of *August* 1703. about two Months after my Arrival, we set out for the Metropolis, situated near the middle of that Empire, and about three thou-

sand Miles distance from our House: My Master made his Daughter *Glumdalclitch* ride behind him. She carried me on her Lap in a Box tyed about her wast. The Girl had lined it on all sides with the softest Cloth she could get, well quilted underneath, furnished it with her Baby's Bed, provided me with Linen and other Necessaries, and made every thing as convenient as she could. We had no other Company but a Boy of the House, who rode after us with the Luggage.

My Master's Design was to shew me in all the Towns by the way, and to step out of the Road for fifty or an hundred Miles, to any Village or Person of Quality's House where he might expect Custom. We made easy Journies of not above seven or eightscore Miles a Day: For *Glumdalclitch*, on purpose to spare me, complained she was tired with the trotting of the Horse. She often took me out of my Box at my own Desire, to give me Air, and shew me the Country, but always held me fast by a Leading-string. We passed over five or six Rivers many degrees broader and deeper than the *Nile* or the *Ganges*; and there was hardly a Rivulet so small as the *Thames* at *London-Bridge*. We were ten Weeks in our Journey, and I was shewn in eighteen large Towns besides many Villages and private Families.

On the 26*th* day of *October*, we arrived at the Metropolis, called in their Language *Lorbrulgrud*, or *Pride of the Universe*. My Master took a Lodging in the principal Street of the City, not far from the Royal Palace, and put out Bills in the usual Form, containing an exact Description of my Person and Parts. He hired

a large Room between three and four hundred Foot wide. He provided a Table sixty Foot in diameter, upon which I was to act my Part, and palisadoed it round three Foot from the edge, and as many high, to prevent my falling over. I was shewn ten times a Day to the Wonder and Satisfaction of all People. I could now speak the Language tolerably well, and perfectly understood every Word that was spoken to me. Besides, I had learned their Alphabet, and could make a shift to explain a Sentence here and there; for *Glumdalclitch* had been my Instructer while we were at home, and at leisure Hours during our Journey. She carried a little Book in her Pocket, not much larger than a *Sanson's Atlas*; it was a common Treatise for the use of young Girls, giving a short Account of their Religion; out of this she taught me my Letters, and interpreted the Words.

CHAP. III

The Author sent for to Court. The Queen buys him of his Master the Farmer, and presents him to the King. He disputes with his Majesty's great Scholars. An Apartment at Court provided for the Author. He is in high Favour with the Queen. He stands up for the Honour of his own Country. His Quarrels with the Queen's Dwarf.

THE frequent Labours I underwent every Day made in a few Weeks a very considerable change in my Health: The more my Master got by me, the more unsatiable he grew. I had quite lost my Stomach, and was almost reduced to a Skeleton. The Farmer observed it, and concluding I soon must dye, resolved to make as good a Hand of me as he could. While he was thus reasoning and resolving with himself, a *Slardral*, or Gentleman Usher came from Court, commanding my Master to carry me immediately thither for the Diversion of the Queen and her Ladies. Some of the latter had already been to see me, and reported strange Things of my Beauty, Behaviour, and good Sense. Her Majesty and those who attended her were beyond Measure delighted with my Demeanor. I fell on my Knees, and begged the Honour of kissing her Imperial Foot; but this Gracious Princess held out her little Finger towards me (after I was set on a Table) which I embraced in both my Arms, and put the tip of it. with the utmost respect, to my Lip. She

 made

made me some general Questions about my Country and my Travels, which I answer'd as distinctly and in as few Words as I could. She asked whether I would be content to live at Court. I bowed down to the board of the Table, and humbly answered that I was my Master's Slave, but if I were at my own Disposal, I should be proud to devote my Life to her Majesty's Service. She then asked my Master whether he were willing to sell me at a good Price. He, who apprehended I could not live a Month, was ready enough to part with me, and demanded a thousand pieces of Gold, which were ordered him on the spot, each piece being about the bigness of eight hundred Moydores; but, allowing for the proportion of all Things between that Country and *Europe*, and the high price of Gold among them, was hardly so great a sum as a thousand Guineas would be in *England*. I then said to the Queen, since I was now her Majesty's most humble Creature and Vassal, I must beg the favour, that *Glumdalclitch*, who had always tended me with so much care and kindness, and understood to do it so well, might be admitted into her Service, and continue to be my Nurse and Instructor. Her Majesty agreed to my Petition, and easily got the Farmer's consent, who was glad enough to have his Daughter preferred at Court: and the poor Girl herself was not able to hide her Joy: My late Master withdrew, bidding me farewell, and saying he had left me in a good Service; to which I replyed not a Word, only making him a slight bow.

The Queen observed my coldness, and when the Farmer was gone out of the Apartment, asked me the reason. I made bold to tell her Majesty that I owed

no

no other Obligation to my late Master, than his not dashing out the Brains of a poor harmless Creature found by chance in his Field; which Obligation was amply recompenced by the gain he had made in shewing me through half the Kingdom, and the price he had now sold me for. That the Life I had since led, was laborious enough to kill an Animal of ten times my Strength. That my Health was much impaired by the continual drudgery of entertaining the Rabble every hour of the Day, and that if my Master had not thought my Life in danger, her Majesty would not have got so cheap a bargain. But as I was out of all fear of being ill treated under the protection of so great and good an Empress, the Ornament of Nature, the Darling of the World, the Delight of her Subjects, the Phœnix of the Creation; so, I hoped my late Master's apprehensions would appear to be groundless, for I already found my Spirits to revive by the Influence of her most August Presence.

THIS was the sum of my Speech, delivered with great Improprieties and Hesitation; the latter part was altogether framed in the Style peculiar to that People, whereof I learned some Phrases from *Glumdalclitch*, while she was carrying me to Court.

THE Queen giving great Allowance for my Defectiveness in speaking, was however surprised at so much Wit and good Sense in so diminutive an Animal. She took me in her own Hands, and carried me to the King, who was then retired to his Cabinet. His Majesty, a Prince of much Gravity, and austere Coun-

 tenance,

tenance, not well observing my Shape at first View, asked the Queen after a cold Manner, how long it was since she grew fond of a *Splacnuck*; for such it seems he took me to be, as I lay upon my Breast in her Majesty's right Hand. But this Princess, who hath an infinite deal of Wit and Humour, set me gently on my Feet upon the Scrutore, and commanded me to give His Majesty an Account of my self, which I did in a very few Words; and *Glumdalclitch*, who attended at the Cabinet door, and could not endure I should be out of her sight, being admitted, confirmed all that had passed from my Arrival at her Father's House.

The King, although he be as learned a Person as any in his Dominions, had been educated in the Study of Philosophy, and particularly Mathematicks; yet when he observed my Shape exactly, and saw me walk erect, before I began to speak, conceived I might be a piece of Clock-work, (which is in that Country arrived to a very great Perfection) contrived by some ingenious Artist. But, when he heard my Voice, and found what I delivered to be regular and rational, he could not conceal his Astonishment. He was by no means satisfied with the Relation I gave him of the Manner I came into his Kingdom, but thought it a Story concerted between *Glumdalclitch* and her Father, who had taught me a Sett of Words to make me sell at a higher Price. Upon this Imagination he put several other Questions to me, and still received rational Answers, no otherwise defective than by a Foreign Accent, and an imperfect Knowledge in the Language, with some rustick Phrases which I had

 learned

learned at the Farmer's House, and did not suit the polite Style of a Court.

HIS Majesty sent for three great Scholars who were then in their weekly waiting (according to the Custom in that Country.) These Gentlemen, after they had a while examined my Shape with much Nicety, were of different Opinions concerning me. They all agreed that I could not be produced according to the regular Laws of Nature, because I was not framed with a Capacity of preserving my Life, either by Swiftness, or climbing of Trees, or digging Holes in the Earth. They observed by my Teeth, which they viewed with great Exactness, that I was a carnivorous Animal; yet most Quadrupeds being an Overmatch for me, and Field-Mice, with some others, too nimble, they could not imagine how I should be able to support my self, unless I fed upon Snails and other Insects, which they offered by many learned Arguments to evince that I could not possibly do. One of these Virtuosi seemed to think that I might be an Embrio, or abortive Birth. But this Opinion was rejected by the other two, who observed my Limbs to be perfect and finished, and that I had lived several Years, as it was manifested from my Beard, the Stumps whereof they plainly discovered through a Magnifying-Glass. They would not allow me to be a Dwarf, because my Littleness was beyond all degrees of Comparison; for the Queen's favourite Dwarf, the smallest ever known in that Kingdom, was near thirty Foot high. After much Debate, they concluded unanimously that I was only *Relplum Scalcath*, which is interpreted literally, *Lusus Naturæ*; a Determination exactly agreeable to the Modern Philosophy

 of

of *Europe*, whose Professors, disdaining the old Evasion of *occult Causes*, whereby the Followers of *Aristotle* endeavour in vain to disguise their Ignorance, have invented this wonderful Solution of all Difficulties to the unspeakable Advancement of human Knowledge.

After this decisive Conclusion, I entreated to be heard a Word or two. I applied myself to the King, and assured His Majesty that I came from a Country which abounded with several Millions of both Sexes, and of my own Stature; where the Animals, Trees, and Houses were all in Proportion, and where by consequence I might be as able to defend my self, and to find Sustenance, as any of his Majesty's Subjects could do here; which I took for a full Answer to those Gentlemens Arguments. To this they only replied with a Smile of Contempt, saying, That the Farmer had instructed me very well in my Lesson. The King, who had a much better Understanding, dismissing his learned Men, sent for the Farmer, who by good Fortune was not yet gone out of Town: Having therefore first examined him privately, and then confronted him with me and the young Girl, his Majesty began to think that what we told him might possibly be true. He desired the Queen to order that a particular Care should be taken of me, and was of opinion, that *Glumdalclitch* should still continue in her Office of tending me, because he observed we had a great Affection for each other. A convenient Apartment was provided for her at Court; she had a sort of Governess appointed to take care of her Education, a Maid to dress her, and two other Servants for menial Offices; but, the Care of me was wholly appropriated to her self. The Queen

 commanded

commanded her own Cabinet-maker to contrive a Box that might serve me for a Bed-chamber, after the Model that *Glumdalclitch* and I should agree upon. This Man was a most ingenious Artist, and according to my Directions, in three Weeks finished for me a wooden Chamber of sixteen Foot square, and twelve high, with Sash Windows, a Door, and two Closets, like a *London* Bed-chamber. The Board that made the Cieling was to be lifted up and down by two Hinges, to put in a Bed ready furnished by her Majesty's Upholsterer, which *Glumdalclitch* took out every Day to air, made it with her own Hands, and letting it down at Night, locked up the Roof over me. A Nice Workman, who was famous for little Curiosities, undertook to make me two Chairs, with Backs and Frames, of a Substance not unlike Ivory, and two Tables, with a Cabinet to put my Things in. The Room was quilted on all sides, as well as the Floor and the Cieling, to prevent any Accident from the Carelessness of those who carried me, and to break the Force of a Jolt when I went in a Coach. I desired a Lock for my Door to prevent Rats and Mice from coming in: The Smith after several Attempts made the smallest that was ever seen among them, for I have known a larger at the Gate of a Gentleman's House in *England*. I made a shift to keep the Key in a Pocket of my own, fearing *Glumdalclitch* might lose it. The Queen likewise ordered the thinnest Silks that could be gotten, to make me Cloaths, not much thicker than an *English* Blanket, very cumbersome till I was accustomed to them. They were after the Fashion of the Kingdom, partly resembling the *Persian*, and partly the *Chinese*, and are a very grave decent Habit.

THE Queen became so fond of my Company, that she could not dine without me. I had a Table placed upon the same at which her Majesty eat, just at her left Elbow, and a Chair to sit on. *Glumdalclitch* stood upon a Stool on the Floor, near my Table, to assist and take care of me. I had an entire Set of Silver Dishes and Plates, and other Necessaries, which in Proportion to those of the Queen, were not much bigger than what I have seen of the same kind in a *London* Toy-shop, for the Furniture of a Baby-house: These my little Nurse kept in her Pocket, in a Silver Box, and gave me at Meals as I wanted them, always cleaning them her self. No Person dined with the Queen but the two Princesses Royal, the elder sixteen Years old, and the younger at that time thirteen and a Month. Her Majesty used to put a Bit of Meat upon one of my Dishes, out of which I carved for my self; and her Diversion was to see me eat in Miniature. For the Queen (who had indeed but a weak Stomach) took up at one Mouthful, as much as a dozen *English* Farmers could eat at a Meal, which to me was for some time a very nauseous sight. She would craunch the Wing of a Lark, Bones and all, between her Teeth, although it were nine times as large as that of a full-grown Turkey; and put a Bit of Bread into her Mouth, as big as two twelvepenny Loaves. She drank out of a golden Cup, above a Hogshead at a Draught. Her Knives were twice as long as a Scythe set strait upon the Handle. The Spoons, Forks, and other Instruments were all in the same Proportion. I remember when *Glumdalclitch* carried me out of Curiosity to see some of the Tables at Court, where ten or a dozen of these enormous Knives and Forks were lifted up

 together,

together, I thought I had never till then beheld so terrible a Sight.

It is the Custom that every *Wednesday*, (which as I have before observed, was their Sabbath) the King and Queen, with the Royal Issue of both Sexes, dine together in the Apartment of his Majesty, to whom I was now become a great Favourite; and at these Times my little Chair and Table were placed at his left Hand before one of the Salt-sellers. This Prince took a Pleasure in conversing with me, enquiring into the Manners, Religion, Laws, Government, and Learning of *Europe*, wherein I gave him the best Account I was able. His Apprehension was so clear, and his Judgment so exact, that he made very wise Reflexions and Observations upon all I said. But, I confess, that after I had been a little too copious in talking of my own beloved Country, of our Trade, and Wars by Sea and Land, of our Schisms in Religion, and Parties in the State; the Prejudices of his Education prevailed so far, that he could not forbear taking me up in his right Hand, and stroaking me gently with the other, after an hearty Fit of laughing, asked me whether I were a *Whig* or a *Tory*. Then turning to his first Minister, who waited behind him with a white Staff, near as tall as the Main-mast of the Royal *Soverain*; he observed how contemptible a Thing was human Grandeur, which could be mimicked by such diminutive Insects as I: And yet, said he, I dare engage, these Creatures have their Titles and Distinctions of Honour, they contrive little Nests and Burrows, that they call Houses and Cities; they make a Figure in Dress and Equipage; they love, they fight, they dispute, they

 cheat,

cheat, they betray. And thus he continued on, while my Colour came and went several times, with Indignation to hear our noble Country, the Mistress of Arts and Arms, the Scourge of *France*, the Arbitress of *Europe*, the Seat of Virtue, Piety, Honour and Truth, the Pride and Envy of the World, so contemptuously treated.

But, as I was not in a condition to resent Injuries, so, upon mature Thoughts, I began to doubt whether I were injured or no. For, after having been accustomed several Months to the Sight and Converse of this People, and observed every Object upon which I cast mine Eyes, to be of proportionable Magnitude, the Horror I had first conceived from their Bulk and Aspect was so far worn off, that if I had then beheld a Company of *English* Lords and Ladies in their Finery and Birth-day Cloaths, acting their several Parts in the most courtly manner of Strutting, and Bowing and Prating; to say the Truth, I should have been strongly tempted to laugh as much at them as the King and his Grandees did at me. Neither indeed could I forbear smiling at my self, when the Queen used to place me upon her Hand towards a Looking-Glass, by which both our Persons appeared before me in full View together; and there could nothing be more ridiculous than the Comparison: So that I really began to imagine my self dwindled many Degrees below my usual Size.

Nothing angred and mortified me so much as the Queen's Dwarf, who being of the lowest Stature that was ever in that Country (for I verily think he was not

 full

full thirty Foot high) became insolent at seeing a Creature so much beneath him, that he would always affect to swagger and look big as he passed by me in the Queen's Antichamber, while I was standing on some Table talking with the Lords or Ladies of the Court, and he seldom failed of a small Word or two upon my Littleness; against which I could only revenge my self by calling him *Brother*, challenging him to wrestle, and such Repartees as are usual in the Mouths of *Court Pages*. One Day at Dinner this malicious little Cubb was so nettled with something I had said to him, that raising himself upon the Frame of her Majesty's Chair, he took me up by the middle, as I was sitting down, not thinking any harm, and let me drop into a large Silver Bowl of Cream, and then ran away as fast as he could. I fell over Head and Ears, and if I had not been a good Swimmer, it might have gone very hard with me; for *Glumdalclitch* in that instant happened to be at the other End of the Room, and the Queen was in such a Fright that she wanted Presence of Mind to assist me. But my little Nurse ran to my Relief, and took me out, after I had swallowed above a Quart of Cream. I was put to bed; however I received no other Damage than the Loss of a suit of Cloaths, which was utterly spoiled. The Dwarf was soundly whipped, and as a further Punishment, forced to drink up the Bowl of Cream, into which he had thrown me; neither was he ever restored to Favour: For, soon after the Queen bestowed him on a Lady of high Quality, so that I saw him no more, to my very great Satisfaction; for I could not tell to what Extremity such a malicious Urchin might have carried his Resentment.

He had before served me a scurvy Trick, which set the Queen a Laughing, although at the same time she were heartily vexed, and would have immediately cashiered him, if I had not been so generous as to intercede. Her Majesty had taken a Marrow-bone upon her Plate, and after knocking out the Marrow, placed the Bone again in the Dish erect as it stood before; the Dwarf watching his Opportunity, while *Glumdalclitch* was gone to the Side-board, mounted upon the Stool she stood on to take care of me at Meals, took me up in both Hands, and squeezing my Legs together, wedged them into the Marrow-bone above my Wast, where I stuck for some time, and made a very ridiculous Figure. I believe it was near a Minute before any one knew what was become of me, for I thought it below me to cry out. But, as Princes seldom get their Meat hot, my Legs were not scalded, only my Stockings and Breeches in a sad condition. The Dwarf at my Entreaty had no other Punishment than a sound whipping.

I was frequently rallied by the Queen upon Account of my Fearfulness, and she used to ask me whether the People of my Country were as great Cowards as my self. The Occasion was this. The Kingdom is much pestered with Flies in Summer, and these odious Insects, each of them as big as a *Dunstable* Lark, hardly gave me any rest while I sat at Dinner, with their continual humming and buzzing about mine Ears. They would sometimes alight upon my Victuals, and leave their loathsome Excrement or Spawn behind, which to me was very visible, though not to the Natives of that Country, whose large Opticks were not so acute

as mine in viewing smaller Objects. Sometimes they would fix upon my Nose or Forehead, where they stung me to the quick, smelling very offensively, and I could easily trace that viscous Matter, which our Naturalists tell us enables those Creatures to walk with their Feet upwards upon a Cieling. I had much ado to defend my self against these detestable Animals, and could not forbear starting when they came on my Face. It was the common Practice of the Dwarf to catch a number of these Insects in his Hand as Schoolboys do among us, and let them out suddenly under my Nose on purpose to frighten me, and divert the Queen. My Remedy was to cut them in Pieces with my Knife as they flew in the Air, wherein my Dexterity was much admired.

I REMEMBER one Morning when *Glumdalclitch* had set me in my Box upon a Window, as she usually did in fair Days to give me Air (for I durst not venture to let the Box be hung on a Nail out of the Window, as we do with Cages in *England*) after I had lifted up one of my Sashes, and sat down at my Table to eat a piece of Sweet Cake for my Breakfast, above twenty Wasps, allured by the smell, came flying into the Room, humming louder than the Drones of as many Bagpipes. Some of them seized my Cake, and carried it piecemeal away, others flew about my Head and Face, confounding me with the Noise, and putting me in the utmost terror of their Stings. However I had the Courage to rise and draw my Hanger, and attack them in the Air. I dispatched four of them, but the rest got away, and I presently shut my Window. These Creatures were as large as Partridges, I took out their

 Stings,

Stings, found them an Inch and a half long, and as sharp as Needles. I carefully preserved them all, and having since shewn them with some other Curiosities in several parts of *Europe*; upon my Return to *England* I gave three of them to *Gresham College*, and kept the fourth for my self.

CHAP. IV

The Country described. A Proposal for correcting modern Maps. The King's Palace, and some Account of the Metropolis. The Author's way of travelling. The chief Temple described.

I NOW intend to give the Reader a short Description of this Country, as far as I travelled in it, which was not above two thousand Miles round *Lorbrulgrud* the Metropolis. For, the Queen, whom I always attended, never went further when she accompanied the King in his Progresses, and there staid till his Majesty returned from viewing his Frontiers. The whole Extent of this Prince's Dominions reacheth about six thousand Miles in Length, and from three to five in Breadth. From whence I cannot but conclude that our Geographers of *Europe* are in a great Error, by supposing nothing but Sea between *Japan* and *California*; for it was ever my Opinion, that there must be a Balance of Earth to counterpoise the great Continent of *Tartary*; and therefore they ought to correct their Maps and Charts, by joining this vast Tract of Land to the North-west Parts of *America*, wherein I shall be ready to lend them my Assistance.

THE Kingdom is a Peninsula, terminated to the North-east by a Ridge of Mountains thirty Miles high, which are altogether impassable by reason of the Volcanoes upon the Tops. Neither do the most Learned

know what sort of Mortals inhabit beyond those Mountains, or whether they be inhabited at all. On the three other Sides it is bounded by the Ocean. There is not one Sea-port in the whole Kingdom, and those Parts of the Coasts into which the Rivers issue are so full of pointed Rocks, and the Sea generally so rough, that there is no venturing with the smallest of their Boats, so that these people are wholly excluded from any Commerce with the rest of the World. But the large Rivers are full of Vessels, and abound with excellent Fish, for they seldom get any from the Sea, because the Sea-fish are of the same Size with those in *Europe*, and consequently not worth catching; whereby it is manifest, that Nature in the Production of Plants and Animals of so extraordinary a Bulk is wholly confined to this Continent, of which I leave the Reasons to be determined by Philosophers. However, now and then they take a Whale that happens to be dashed against the Rocks, which the common People feed on heartily. These Whales I have known so large that a Man could hardly carry one upon his Shoulders; and sometimes for Curiosity they are brought in Hampers to *Lorbrulgrud*: I saw one of them in a Dish at the King's Table, which passed for a Rarity, but I did not observe he was fond of it; for I think indeed the Bigness disgusted him, although I have seen one somewhat larger in *Greenland*.

The Country is well inhabited, for it contains fifty one Cities, near an hundred walled Towns, and a great number of Villages. To satisfy my curious Reader, it may be sufficient to describe *Lorbrulgrud*. This City stands upon almost two equal Parts on each

side the River that passes through. It contains above eighty thousand Houses, and about six hundred thousand Inhabitants. It is in Length three *Glonglungs* (which make about fifty four *English* Miles) and two and a half in Breadth, as I measured it my self in the Royal Map made by the King's Order, which was laid on the Ground on purpose for me, and extended an hundred Feet: I paced the Diameter and Circumference several times bare foot, and computing by the Scale, measured it pretty exactly.

The King's Palace is no regular Edifice, but an heap of Buildings about seven Miles round: The chief Rooms are generally two hundred and forty Foot high, and broad and long in Proportion. A Coach was allowed to *Glumdalclitch* and me, wherein her Governess frequently took her out to see the Town, or go among the Shops; and I was always of the Party, carried in my Box; although the Girl at my own Desire would often take me out, and hold me in her Hand, that I might more conveniently view the Houses and the People, as we passed along the Streets. I reckoned our Coach to be about a Square of *Westminster-Hall*, but not altogether so high; however, I cannot be very exact. One Day the Governess ordered our Coachman to stop at several Shops, where the Beggars watching their Opportunity, crouded to the sides of the Coach, and gave me the most horrible Spectacles that ever an *English* Eye beheld. There was a Woman with a Cancer in her Breast, swelled to a monstrous size, full of Holes, in two or three of which I could have easily crept, and covered my whole Body. There was a Fellow with a Wen in his Neck, larger than five Wool-

 packs,

packs, and another with a couple of wooden Legs, each about twenty Foot high. But, the most hateful Sight of all was the Lice crawling on their Cloaths. I could see distinctly the Limbs of these Vermin with my naked Eye, much better than those of an *European* Louse through a Microscope, and their Snouts with which they rooted like Swine. They were the first I had ever beheld, and I should have been curious enough to dissect one of them, if I had proper Instruments (which I unluckily left behind me in the Ship) although indeed the Sight was so nauseous, that it perfectly turned my Stomach.

Beside the large Box in which I was usually carried, the Queen ordered a smaller one to be made for me, of about twelve Foot square, and ten high, for the Convenience of Travelling, because the other was somewhat too large for *Glumdalclitch's* Lap, and cumbersom in the Coach; it was made by the same Artist, whom I directed in the whole Contrivance. This travelling Closet was an exact Square with a Window in the middle of three of the Squares, and each Window was latticed with Iron Wire on the outside, to prevent Accidents in long Journeys. On the fourth side, which had no Window, two strong Staples were fixed, through which the Person that carried me, when I had a mind to be on Horseback, put in a Leathern Belt, and buckled it about his Waste. This was always the Office of some grave trusty Servant in whom I could confide, whether I attended the King and Queen in their Progresses, or were disposed to see the Gardens, or pay a visit to some great Lady or Minister of State in the Court, when *Glumdalclitch* happened to be out

of

of Order: For I soon began to be known and esteemed among the greatest Officers, I suppose more upon Account of their Majesty's Favour than any Merit of my own. In Journeys, when I was weary of the Coach, a Servant on Horseback would buckle my Box, and place it on a Cushion before him; and there I had a full Prospect of the Country on three Sides from my three Windows. I had in this Closet a Field-Bed and a Hammock hung from the Cieling, two Chairs and a Table, neatly screwed to the Floor, to prevent being tossed about by the Agitation of the Horse or the Coach. And having been long used to Sea-Voyages, those Motions, although sometimes very violent, did not much discompose me.

WHENEVER I had a mind to see the Town, it was always in my Travelling-Closet, which *Glumdalclitch* held in her Lap in a kind of open Sedan, after the Fashion of the Country, borne by four Men, and attended by two others in the Queen's Livery. The People who had often heard of me, were very curious to croud about the Sedan, and the Girl was complaisant enough to make the Bearers stop, and to take me in her Hand that I might be more conveniently seen.

I WAS very desirous to see the chief Temple, and particularly the Tower belonging to it, which is reckoned the highest in the Kingdom. Accordingly one Day my Nurse carried me thither, but I may truly say I came back disappointed; for the height is not above three thousand Foot, and reckoning from the Ground to the highest Pinnacle top; which allowing for the differ-

 ence

ence between the size of those People, and us in *Europe*, is no great matter for Admiration, nor at all equal in Proportion (if I rightly remember) to *Salisbury* steeple. But, not to detract from a Nation to which during my Life I shall acknowledge my self extremely obliged, it must be allowed, that whatever this famous Tower wants in Height is amply made up in Beauty and Strength. For the Walls are near an hundred Foot thick, built of hewn Stone, whereof each is about forty Foot square, and adorned on all sides with Statues of Gods and Emperors cut in Marble larger than the Life, placed in their several Niches. I measured a little Finger which had fallen down from one of these Statues, and lay unperceived among some Rubbish, and found it exactly four Foot and an Inch in length. *Glumdalclitch* wrapped it up in a Handkerchief, and carried it home in her Pocket to keep among other Trinkets, of which the Girl was very fond, as Children at her Age usually are.

The King's Kitchen is indeed a noble Building, vaulted at top, and about six hundred Foot high. The great Oven is not so wide by ten Paces as the Cupola at St. *Paul*'s: For I measured the latter on purpose after my Return. But if I should describe the Kitchen-grate, the prodigious Pots and Kettles, the joints of Meat turning on the Spits, with many other Particulars, perhaps I should be hardly believed; at least a severe Critick would be apt to think I enlarged a little, as Travellers are often suspected to do. To avoid which censure, I fear I have run too much into the other extream; and that if this Treatise should happen to be translated into the Language of *Brobdingnag*,

 (which

(which is the general name of that Kingdom) and transmitted thither, the King and his People would have reason to complain that I had done them an Injury by a false and diminutive Representation.

HIS Majesty seldom keeps above six hundred Horses in his Stables: They are generally from fifty four to sixty Foot high. But, when he goes abroad on solemn Days, he is attended for State by a Militia Guard of five hundred Horse, which indeed I thought was the most splendid Sight that could be ever beheld, till I saw part of his Army in Battalia, whereof I shall find another occasion to speak.

CHAP. V

Several Adventures that happened to the Author. The Execution of a Criminal. The Author shews his Skill in Navigation.

I SHOULD have lived happy enough in that Country, if my Littleness had not exposed me to several ridiculous and troublesome Accidents; some of which I shall venture to relate. *Glumdalclitch* often carried me into the Gardens of the Court in my smaller Box, and would sometimes take me out of it and hold me in her Hand, or set me down to walk. I remember, before the Dwarf left the Queen, he followed us one Day into those Gardens, and my Nurse having set me down, he and I being close together, near some Dwarf Apple-trees, I must need shew my Wit by a silly Allusion between him and the Trees, which happens to hold in their Language as it doth in ours. Whereupon, the malicious Rogue watching his Opportunity, when I was walking under one of them, shook it directly over my Head, by which a dozen Apples, each of them near as large as a *Bristol* Barrel, came tumbling about my Ears; one of them hit me on the Back as I chanced to stoop, and knocked me down flat on my Face, but I received no other hurt, and the Dwarf was pardoned at my Desire, because I had given the Provocation.

ANOTHER day *Glumdalclitch* left me on a smooth Grass-plot to divert my self while she walked at some

 distance

distance with her Governess. In the mean time there suddenly fell such a violent shower of Hail, that I was immediately by the force of it struck to the Ground: And when I was down, the Hailstones gave me such cruel Bangs all over the Body, as if I had been pelted with Tennis-balls; however I made a shift to creep on all four, and shelter my self by lying flat on my Face on the Lee-side of a Border of Lemmon Thyme, but so bruised from Head to Foot that I could not go abroad in ten Days. Neither is this at all to be wondred at, because Nature in that Country observing the same Proportion thro' all her Operations, a Hailstone is near eighteen hundred times as large as one in *Europe*, which I can assert upon Experience, having been so curious to weigh and measure them.

BUT, a more dangerous Accident happened to me in the same Garden, when my little Nurse believing she had put me in a secure Place, which I often entreated her to do, that I might enjoy my own Thoughts, and having left my Box at home to avoid the Trouble of carrying it, went to another part of the Gardens with her Governess and some Ladies of her Acquaintance. While she was absent and out of hearing, a small white Spaniel belonging to one of the chief Gardiners, having got by accident into the Garden, happened to range near the Place where I lay. The Dog following the Scent, came directly up, and taking me in his Mouth ran strait to his Master, wagging his Tail, and set me gently on the Ground. By good Fortune he had been so well taught, that I was carried between his Teeth without the least hurt, or even tearing my Cloaths. But, the poor Gardiner, who knew me well, and had a

 great

great Kindness for me, was in a terrible Fright. He gently took me up in both his Hands, and asked me how I did; but I was so amazed and out of Breath, that I could not speak a Word. In a few Minutes I came to my self, and he carried me safe to my little Nurse, who by this time had returned to the Place where she left me, and was in cruel Agonies when I did not appear, nor answer when she called; she severely reprimanded the Gardiner on account of his Dog. But, the Thing was hushed up, and never known at Court; for the Girl was afraid of the Queen's Anger, and truly as to my self, I thought it would not be for my Reputation that such a Story should go about.

This Accident absolutely determined *Glumdalclitch* never to trust me abroad for the future out of her Sight. I had been long afraid of this Resolution, and therefore concealed from her some little unlucky Adventures that happened in those Times when I was left by my self. Once a Kite hovering over the Garden made a stoop at me, and if I had not resolutely drawn my Hanger, and run under a thick Espalier, he would have certainly carried me away in his Talons. Another time walking to the Top of a fresh Mole-hill, I fell to my Neck in the hole through which that Animal had cast up the Earth, and coined some Lye, not worth remembring, to excuse my self for spoiling my Cloaths. I likewise broke my right Shin against the Shell of a Snail, which I happened to stumble over, as I was walking alone, and thinking on poor *England*.

I cannot tell whether I were more pleased or mortified, to observe in those solitary Walks, that the smaller

Birds did not appear to be at all afraid of me, but would hop about within a Yard distance, looking for Worms, and other Food with as much Indifference and Security as if no Creature at all were near them. I remember, a Thrush had the Confidence to snatch out of my Hand with his Bill a piece of Cake that *Glumdalclitch* had just given me for my Breakfast. When I attempted to catch any of these Birds, they would boldly turn against me, endeavouring to pick my Fingers, which I durst not venture within their Reach; and then they would turn back unconcerned to hunt for Worms or Snails, as they did before. But, one Day I took a thick Cudgel, and threw it with all my Strength so luckily at a Linnet, that I knocked him down, and seizing him by the Neck with both my Hands, ran with him in Triumph to my Nurse. However, the Bird who had only been stunned, recovering himself, gave me so many Boxes with his Wings on both Sides of my Head and Body, though I held him at Arms length, and was out of the reach of his Claws, that I was twenty times thinking to let him go. But I was soon relieved by one of our Servants, who wrung off the Bird's Neck, and I had him next Day for Dinner, by the Queen's Command. This Linnet, as near as I can remember, seemed to be somewhat larger than an English Swan.

THE Maids of Honour often invited *Glumdalclitch* to their Apartments, and desired she would bring me along with her, on purpose to have the pleasure of seeing and touching me. They would often strip me naked from top to toe, and lay me at full Length in their Bosoms; wherewith I was much disgusted; because, to say the Truth, a very offensive Smell came

 from

from their Skins; which I do not mention or intend to the Disadvantage of those excellent Ladies, for whom I have all manner of Respect; but, I conceive that my Sense was more acute in proportion to my Littleness, and that those Illustrious Persons were no more disagreeable to their Lovers, or to each other, than people of the same Quality are with us in *England*. And, after all, I found their natural Smell was much more supportable than when they used Perfumes, under which I immediately swooned away. I cannot forget that an intimate Friend of mine in *Lilliput* took the freedom in a warm Day, when I had used a good deal of Exercise, to complain of a strong Smell about me, although I am as little faulty that way as most of my Sex: But I suppose his faculty of Smelling was as nice with regard to me, as mine was to that of this People. Upon this Point, I cannot forbear doing justice to the Queen my Mistress, and *Glumdalclitch* my Nurse, whose persons were as sweet as those of any Lady in *England*.

That which gave me most uneasiness among these Maids of Honor, when my nurse carried me to visit them, was to see them use me without any manner of Ceremony, like a Creature who had no sort of Consequence. For, they would strip themselves to the Skin, and put on their Smocks in my Presence, while I was placed on their Toylet directly before their naked Bodies, which, I am sure, to me was very far from being a tempting Sight, or from giving me any other emotions than those of Horror and Disgust. Their Skins appeared so coarse and uneven, so variously coloured, when I saw them near, with a Mole here and there as broad as a Trencher, and Hairs hanging

from

from it thicker than Pack-threads, to say nothing further concerning the rest of their Persons. Neither did they at all scruple while I was by to discharge what they had drunk, to the quantity of at least two Hogsheads, in a Vessel that held above three Tuns. The handsomest among these Maids of Honor, a pleasant frolicksome Girl of sixteen, would sometimes set me astride upon one of her Nipples, with many other Tricks, wherein the Reader will excuse me for not being over particular. But, I was so much displeased, that I entreated *Glumdalclitch* to contrive some excuse for not seeing that young Lady any more.

ONE Day, a young Gentleman who was Nephew to my Nurse's Governess, came and pressed them both to see an Execution. It was of a Man who had murdered one of that Gentleman's intimate Acquaintance. *Glumdalclitch* was prevailed on to be of the Company, very much against her Inclination, for she was naturally tender hearted: And, as for my self, although I abhorred such kind of Spectacles, yet my Curiosity tempted me to see something that I thought must be extraordinary. The Malefactor was fixed in a Chair upon a Scaffold erected for the purpose, and his Head cut off at a blow with a Sword of about forty Foot long. The Veins and Arteries spouted up such a prodigious quantity of Blood, and so high in the Air, that the great *Jett d'eau* at *Versailles* was not equal for the time it lasted; and the Head when it fell on the Scaffold Floor, gave such a bounce, as made me start, although I were at least half an *English* Mile distant.

THE Queen who often used to hear me talk of my Sea-Voyages, and took all Occasions to divert me

 when

when I was melancholy; asked me whether I understood how to handle a Sail or an Oar, and whether a little exercise of Rowing might not be convenient for my Health. I answered, that I understood both very well. For although my proper Employment had been to be Surgeon or Doctor to the Ship, yet often upon a pinch, I was forced to work like a common Mariner. But, I could not see how this could be done in their Country, where the smallest Wherry was equal to a first rate Man of War among us, and such a Boat as I could manage would never live in any of their Rivers: Her Majesty said, if I would contrive a Boat, her own Joyner should make it, and she would provide a place for me to sail in. The Fellow was an ingenious Workman, and by my Instructions in ten Days finished a Pleasure-boat with all its Tackling, able conveniently to hold eight *Europeans*. When it was finished, the Queen was so delighted, that she ran with it in her Lap to the King, who ordered it to be put in a Cistern full of Water, with me in it, by way of Tryal, where I could not manage my two Sculls or little Oars for want of room. But, the Queen had before contrived another Project. She ordered the Joyner to make a wooden Trough of three hundred Foot long, fifty broad, and eight deep; which being well pitched to prevent leaking was placed on the Floor along the Wall, in an outer Room of the Palace. It had a Cock near the bottom to let out the Water when it began to grow stale, and two Servants could easily fill it in half an Hour. Here I often used to row for my own Diversion, as well as that of the Queen and her Ladies, who thought themselves well entertained with my Skill and Agility. Sometimes I would put up my Sail, and then

 my

my Business was only to steer, while the Ladies gave me a Gale with their Fans; and when they were weary, some of the Pages would blow my Sail forward with their Breath, while I shewed my Art by steering Starboard or Larboard as I pleased. When I had done, *Glumdalclitch* always carried back my Boat into her Closet, and hung it on a Nail to dry.

IN this Exercise I once met an Accident which had like to have cost me my Life. For, one of the pages having put my Boat into the Trough, the Governess, who attended *Glumdalclitch*, very officiously lifted me up to place me in the Boat, but I happened to slip through her Fingers, and should have infallibly fallen down forty Foot upon the Floor, if by the luckiest chance in the World, I had not been stop'd by a Corking-pin that stuck in the good Gentlewoman's Stomacher; the Head of the Pin passed between my Shirt and the Wast-band of my Breeches, and thus I was held by the middle in the Air till *Glumdalclitch* ran to my Relief.

ANOTHER time, one of the Servants, whose Office it was to fill my Trough every third Day with fresh Water, was so careless to let a huge Frog (not perceiving it) slip out of his Pail. The Frog lay concealed till I was put into my Boat, but then seeing a resting Place, climbed up, and made it lean so much on one Side, that I was forced to balance it with all my weight on the other, to prevent overturning. When the Frog was got in, it hopped at once half the length of the Boat, and then over my Head, backwards and forwards, dawbing my Face and Cloaths with its odious Slime.

The largeness of its Features made it appear the most deformed Animal that can be conceived. However, I desired *Glumdalclitch* to let me deal with it alone. I banged it a good while with one of my Sculls, and at last forced it to leap out of the Boat.

But, the greatest Danger I ever underwent in that Kingdom, was from a Monkey, who belonged to one of the Clerks of the Kitchen. *Glumdalclitch* had locked me up in her Closet, while she went somewhere upon Business or a Visit. The Weather being very warm, the Closet Window was left open, as well as the Windows and the Door of my bigger Box, in which I usually lived, because of its Largeness and Convenïency. As I sat quietly meditating at my Table, I heard something bounce in at the Closet Window, and skip about from one side to the other; whereat although I were much alarmed, yet I ventured to look out, but not stirring from my Seat; and then I saw this frolicksome Animal, frisking and leaping up and down till at last he came to my Box, which he seemed to view with great Pleasure and Curiosity, peeping in at the Door and every Window. I retreated to the farther Corner of my Room, or Box, but the Monkey looking in at every side, put me into such a fright, that I wanted presence of Mind to conceal my self under the Bed, as I might easily have done. After some time spent in peeping, grinning, and chattering, he at last espyed me, and reaching one of his Paws in at the Door, as a Cat does when she plays with a Mouse, although I often shifted place to avoid him, he at length caught hold of the Lappet of my Coat (which being made of that Country Cloth, was very thick and strong) and

dragged me out. He took me up in his right fore-foot and held me as a Nurse does a Child she is going to suckle, just as I have seen the same sort of Creature do with a Kitten in *Europe*: And when I offered to struggle, he squeezed me so hard, that I thought it more prudent to submit. I have good reason to believe that he took me for a young one of his own Species, by his often stroaking my Face very gently with his other Paw. In these Diversions he was interrupted by a Noise at the Closet Door, as if some Body were opening it; whereupon he suddenly leaped up to the Window at which he had come in, and thence upon the Leads and Gutters, walking upon three Legs, and holding me in the fourth, till he clamberd up to a Roof that was next to ours. I heard *Glumdalclitch* give a shreek at the moment he was carrying me out. The poor Girl was almost distracted: That quarter of the Palace was all in an uproar; the Servants ran for Ladders; the Monkey was seen by hundreds in the Court sitting upon the ridge of a Building, holding me like a Baby in one of his fore-paws, and feeding me with the other, by cramming into my Mouth some Victuals he had squeezed out of the Bag on one side of his Chaps, and patting me when I would not eat; whereat many of the Rabble below could not forbear laughing; neither do I think they justly ought to be blamed, for without question the Sight was ridiculous enough to every Body but my self. Some of the People threw up Stones, hoping to drive the Monkey down; but this was strictly forbidden, or else very probably my Brains had been dashed out.

The Ladders were now applied, and mounted by several Men, which the Monkey observing, and finding

himself almost encompassed; not being able to make speed enough with his three Legs, let me drop on a ridge Tyle, and made his Escape. Here I sat for some time three hundred Yards from the Ground, expecting every moment to be blown down by the Wind, or to fall by my own Giddiness, and come tumbling over and over from the Ridge to the Eeves. But an honest Lad, one of my Nurse's Footmen, climbed up, and putting me into his Breeches Pocket, brought me down safe.

I WAS almost choaked with the filthy stuff the Monkey had crammed down my Throat; but, my dear little Nurse picked it out of my Mouth with a small Needle, and then I fell a Vomiting, which gave me great Relief. Yet I was so weak and bruised in the Sides with the Squeezes given me by this odious Animal, that I was forced to keep my Bed a Fortnight. The King, Queen and all the Court sent every Day to enquire after my Health, and her Majesty made me several Visits during my Sickness. The Monkey was killed, and an Order made that no such Animal should be kept about the Palace.

WHEN I attended the King after my Recovery, to return him Thanks for his Favours, he was pleased to rally me a good deal upon this Adventure. He asked me what my Thoughts and Speculations were while I lay in the Monkey's Paw, how I liked the Victuals he gave me, his manner of Feeding, and whether the fresh Air on the Roof had sharpned my Stomach. He desired to know what I would have done upon such an Occasion in my own Country. I told his Majesty,

that in *Europe* we had no Monkeys, except such as were brought for Curiosities from other Places, and so small, that I could deal with a dozen of them together, if they presumed to attack me. And as for that monstrous Animal with whom I was so lately engaged, (it was indeed as large as an Elephant) if my Fears had suffered me to think so far as to make use of my Hanger (looking fiercely and clapping my hand upon the Hilt as I spoke) when he poked his Paw into my Chamber, perhaps I should have given him such a Wound, as would have made him glad to withdraw it with more hast than he put it in. This I delivered in a firm Tone, like a Person who was jealous lest his Honour should be called in question. However, my Speech produced nothing else besides a loud Laughter, which all the Respect due to his Majesty from those about him could not make them contain. This made me reflect how vain an Attempt it is for a Man to endeavour doing himself Honour among those who are out of all Degree of Equality or Comparison with him. And yet I have seen the Moral of my own Behaviour very frequent in *England* since my Return, where a little contemptible Varlet, without the least Title to Birth, Person, Wit, or common Sense, shall presume to look with Importance, and put himself upon a foot with the greatest Persons of the Kingdom.

I WAS every Day furnishing the Court with some ridiculous Story; and *Glumdalclitch*, although she loved me to excess, yet was arch enough to inform the Queen, whenever I committed any Folly that she thought would be diverting to her Majesty. The girl who had been out of order, was carried by her Governess to

take the Air about an Hour's distance, or thirty Miles from Town. They alighted out of the Coach near a small Foot-path in a Field, and *Glumdalclitch* setting down my travelling Box, I went out of it to walk. There was a Cow-dung in the Path, and I must needs try my Activity by attempting to leap over it. I took a Run, but unfortunately jumped short, and found my self just in the middle up to my Knees. I waded through with some difficulty, and one of the Footmen wiped me as clean as he could with his Handkerchief; for I was filthily bemired, and my Nurse confined me to my Box till we returned home; where the Queen was soon informed of what had passed, and the Footmen spread it about the Court, so that all the Mirth, for some Days, was at my expence.

CHAP. VI

Several Contrivances of the Author to please the King and Queen. He shews his Skill in Musick. The King enquires into the State of Europe, *which the Author relates to him. The King's Observations thereon.*

I USED to attend the King's Levee once or twice a Week, and had often seen him under the Barber's Hand, which indeed was at first very terrible to behold. For, the Razor was almost twice as long as an ordinary Scythe. His Majesty according to the Custom of the Country was only shaved twice a Week. I once prevailed on the Barber to give me some of the Suds or Lather, out of which I picked forty or fifty of the strongest Stumps of Hair. I then took a piece of fine Wood, and cut it like the back of a Comb, making several Holes in it at equal distance with as small a Needle as I could get from *Glumdalclitch*. I fixed in the Stumps so artificially, scraping and sloping them with my Knife towards the Points, that I made a very tolerable Comb; which was a seasonable Supply, my own being so much broken in the Teeth, that it was almost useless: Neither did I know any Artist in that Country so nice and exact, as would undertake to make me another.

AND this puts me in mind of an Amusement wherein I spent many of my leisure Hours. I desired the

Queen's Woman to save for me the combings of her Majesty's Hair, whereof in time I got a good quantity, and consulting with my Friend the Cabinet-maker, who had received general Orders to do little Jobbs for me; I directed him to make two Chair-frames, no larger than those I had in my Box, and then to bore little Holes with a fine Awl round those parts where I designed the Backs and Seats; through these Holes I wove the strongest Hairs I could pick out, just after the manner of Cane-chairs in *England*. When they were finished, I made a present of them to her Majesty, who kept them in her Cabinet, and used to shew them for Curiosities, as indeed they were the Wonder of every one that beheld them. The Queen would have had me sit upon one of these Chairs, but I absolutely refused to obey her, protesting I would rather dye a thousand Deaths than place a dishonourable part of my Body on those precious Hairs that once adorned her Majesty's Head. Of these Hairs (as I had always a Mechanical genius) I likewise made a neat little Purse about five Foot long, with her Majesty's Name decyphered in Gold Letters, which I gave to *Glumdalclitch*, by the Queen's Consent. To say the Truth, it was more for Shew than Use, being not of strength to bear the weight of the larger Coins, and therefore she kept nothing in it, but some little Toys that Girls are fond of.

The King, who delighted in Musick, had frequent Consorts at Court, to which I was sometimes carried, and set in my Box on a Table to hear them: But, the Noise was so great, that I could hardly distinguish the Tunes. I am confident that all the Drums and Trum-

pets

pets of a Royal Army, beating and sounding together just at your Ears, could not equal it. My Practice was to have my Box removed from the Places where the Performers sat, as far as I could, then to shut the Doors and Windows of it, and draw the Window-Curtains; after which I found their Musick not disagreeable.

I HAD learned in my Youth to play a little upon the Spinet. *Glumdalclitch* kept one in her Chamber, and a Master attended twice a Week to teach her: I call it a Spinet because it somewhat resembled that Instrument, and was play'd upon in the same manner. A fancy came into my Head that I would entertain the King and Queen with an *English* Tune upon this Instrument. But this appeared extremely difficult: For, the Spinet was near sixty Foot long, each Key being almost a Foot wide, so that, with my Arms extended, I could not reach to above five Keys, and to press them down required a good smart stroak with my Fist, which would be too great a Labour, and to no purpose. The Method I contrived was this. I prepared two round Sticks about the bigness of common Cudgels, they were thicker at one end than the other, and I covered the thicker ends with a piece of a Mouse's Skin, that by rapping on them, I might neither damage the tops of the Keys, nor interrupt the Sound. Before the Spinet a Bench was placed about four Foot below the Keys, and I was put upon the Bench. I ran sideling upon it that way and this, as fast as I could, banging the proper Keys with my two Sticks, and made a shift to play a Jigg to the great Satisfaction of both their Majesties: But, it was the most violent Exercise I ever

 underwent,

underwent, and yet I could not strike above sixteen Keys, nor, consequently, play the Bass and Treble together, as other Artists do; which was a great Disadvantage to my Performance.

The King, who as I before observed, was a Prince of excellent Understanding, would frequently order that I should be brought in my Box, and set upon the Table in his Closet. He would then command me to bring one of my Chairs out of the Box, and sit down within three Yards distance upon the top of the Cabinet, which brought me almost to a level with his Face. In this manner I had several Conversations with him. I one Day took the freedom to tell his Majesty, that the Contempt he discovered towards *Europe*, and the rest of the World, did not seem answerable to those excellent Qualities of the Mind he was Master of. That, Reason did not extend it self with the bulk of the Body: On the contrary, we observed in our Country that the tallest Persons were usually least provided with it. That among other Animals, Bees and Ants had the Reputation of more Industry, Art, and Sagacity than many of the larger kinds. And that, as inconsiderable as he took me to be, I hoped I might live to do his Majesty some signal Service. The King heard me with Attention, and began to conceive a much better Opinion of me than he had ever before. He desired I would give him as exact an Account of the Government of *England* as I possibly could; because, as fond as Princes commonly are of their own Customs (for so he conjectured of other Monarchs by my former Discourses) he should be glad to hear of any thing that might deserve Imitation.

IMAGINE with thy self, courteous Reader, how often I then wished for the Tongue of *Demosthenes* or *Cicero*, that might have enabled me to celebrate the Praise of my own dear native Country in a Style equal to its Merits and Felicity.

I BEGAN my Discourse by informing his Majesty that our Dominions consisted of two Islands, which composed three mighty Kingdoms under one Sovereign, beside our Plantations in *America*. I dwelt long upon the Fertility of our Soil, and the Temperature of our Climate. I then spoke at large upon the Constitution of an *English* Parliament, partly made up of an illustrious Body called the House of Peers, Persons of the noblest Blood, and of the most ancient and ample Patrimonies. I described that extraordinary Care always taken of their Education in Arts and Arms, to qualify them for being Counsellors born to the King and Kingdom, to have a Share in the Legislature, to be Members of the highest Court of Judicature from whence there could be no Appeal; and to be Champions always ready for the Defence of their Prince and Country by their Valour, Conduct and Fidelity. That these were the Ornament and Bulwark of the Kingdom, worthy Followers of their most renowned Ancestors, whose Honor had been the Reward of their Virtue, from which their Posterity were never once known to degenerate. To these were joined several holy Persons, as part of that Assembly, under the Title of Bishops, whose peculiar Business it is, to take care of Religion, and of those who instruct the People therein. These were searched and sought out through the whole Nation, by the Prince and his wisest Counsellors,

 among

among such of the Priesthood, as were most deservedly distinguished by the Sanctity of their Lives, and the Depth of their Erudition; who were indeed the spiritual Fathers of the Clergy and the People.

That, the other part of the Parliament consisted of an Assembly called the House of Commons, who were all principal Gentlemen, *freely* picked and culled out by the People themselves, for their great Abilities, and Love of their Country, to represent the Wisdom of the whole Nation. And, these two Bodies make up the most august Assembly in *Europe*, to whom, in Conjunction with the Prince, the whole Legislature is committed.

I then descended to the Courts of Justice, over which the Judges, those venerable Sages and Interpreters of the Law, presided, for determining the disputed Rights and Properties of Men, as well as for the Punishment of Vice, and Protection of Innocence. I mentioned the prudent Management of our Treasury; the Valour and Atchievements of our Forces by Sea and Land. I computed the Number of our People, by reckoning how many Millions there might be of each Religious Sect, or Political Party among us. I did not omit even our Sports and Pastimes, or any other Particular which I thought might redound to the Honor of my Country. And, I finished all with a brief historical Account of Affairs and Events in *England* for about an hundred Years past.

This Conversation was not ended under five Audiences, each of several Hours, and the King heard the whole with great Attention, frequently taking Notes of

 what

what I spoke, as well as Memorandums of all Questions he intended to ask me.

WHEN I had put an end to these long Discourses, his Majesty in a sixth Audience consulting his Notes, proposed many Doubts, Queries, and Objections, upon every Article. He asked, what Methods were used to cultivate the Minds and Bodies of our young Nobility, and in what kind of Business they commonly spent the first and teachable part of their Lives. What Course was taken to supply that Assembly when any noble Family became extinct. What Qualifications were necessary in those who are to be created new Lords: Whether the Humour of the Prince, a Sum of Money to a Court-Lady, or a Prime Minister, or a Design of strengthening a Party opposite to the publick Interest, ever happened to be Motives in those Advancements. What Share of Knowledge these Lords had in the Laws of their Country, and how they came by it, so as to enable them to decide the Properties of their Fellow-Subjects in the last Resort. Whether they were always so free from Avarice, Partialities, or Want, that a Bribe, or some other sinister View, could have no place among them. Whether those holy Lords I spoke of were always promoted to that Rank upon account of their Knowledge in religious Matters, and the Sanctity of their Lives, had never been Compliers with the times while they were common Priests, or slavish prostitute Chaplains to some Nobleman, whose Opinions they continued servilely to follow after they were admitted into that Assembly.

HE then desired to know what Arts were practised in electing those whom I called Commoners. Whether,

a Stranger with a strong Purse might not influence the vulgar Voters to chuse him before their own Landlord, or the most considerable Gentleman in the Neighbourhood. How it came to pass, that People were so violently bent upon getting into this Assembly, which I allowed to be a great Trouble and Expence, often to the Ruin of their Families, without any Salary or Pension: Because this appeared such an exalted strain of Virtue and publick Spirit, that his Majesty seemed to doubt it might possibly not be always sincere: And he desired to know whether such zealous Gentlemen could have any Views of refunding themselves for the Charges and Trouble they were at, by sacrificing the Publick Good to the Designs of a weak and vicious Prince in Conjunction with a corrupted Ministry. He multiplied his Questions, and sifted me thoroughly upon every part of this Head, proposing numberless Enquiries and Objections, which I think it not prudent or convenient to repeat.

Upon what I said in relation to our Courts of Justice, his Majesty desired to be satisfied in several Points: And, this I was the better able to do, having been formerly almost ruined by a long Suit in Chancery, which was decreed for me with Costs. He asked, what Time was usually spent in determining between Right and Wrong, and what Degree of Expence. Whether Advocates and Orators had Liberty to plead in causes manifestly known to be unjust, vexatious, or oppressive. Whether Party in Religion or Politicks were observed to be of any Weight in the Scale of Justice. Whether those pleading Orators were Persons educated in the general Knowledge of Equity, or only

 in

in provincial, national, and other local Customs. Whether they or their Judges had any part in penning those Laws which they assumed the Liberty of interpreting and glossing upon at their Pleasure. Whether they had ever at different Times pleaded for and against the same Cause, and cited Precedents to prove contrary Opinions. Whether they were a rich or a poor Corporation. Whether they received any pecuniary Reward for pleading or delivering their Opinions. And particularly whether they were ever admitted as Members in the lower Senate.

HE fell next upon the Management of our Treasury; and said, he thought my Memory had failed me, because I computed our Taxes at about five or six millions a Year, and when I came to mention the Issues, he found they sometimes amounted to more than double; for, the Notes he had taken were very particular in this Point, because he hoped, as he told me, that the Knowledge of our Conduct might be useful to him, and he could not be deceived in his Calculations. But, if what I told him were true, he was still at a loss how a Kingdom could run out of its Estate like a private Person. He asked me, who were our Creditors? and, where we should find Money to pay them? He wondred to hear me talk of such chargeable and extensive Wars; that, certainly we must be a quarrelsome People, or live among very bad Neighbours, and that our Generals must needs be richer than our Kings. He asked what Business we had out of our own Islands, unless upon the Score of Trade or Treaty, or to defend the Coasts with our Fleet. Above all, he was amazed to hear me talk of a mercenary standing Army in the

 midst

midst of Peace, and among a Free People. He said if we were governed by our own Consent in the Persons of our Representatives, he could not imagine of whom we were afraid, or against whom we were to fight, and would hear my Opinion, whether a private Man's House might not better be defended by himself, his Children, and Family, than by half a dozen Rascals picked up at a venture in the Streets, for small Wages, who might get an hundred times more by cutting their Throats.

He laughed at my odd kind of Arithmetick (as he was pleased to call it) in reckoning the Numbers of our People by a Computation drawn from the several Sects among us in Religion and Politicks. He said, he knew no Reason, why those who entertain Opinions prejudicial to the Publick, should be obliged to Change, or should not be obliged to Conceal them. And as it was Tyranny in any Government to require the first, so it was Weakness not to enforce the second: For, a Man may be allowed to keep Poisons in his Closet, but not to vend them about for Cordials.

He observed, that among the Diversions of our Nobility and Gentry, I had mentioned Gaming. He desired to know at what Age this Entertainment was usually taken up, and when it was laid down. How much of their Time it employed, whether it ever went so high as to affect their Fortunes. Whether mean vicious People by their Dexterity in that Art might not arrive at great Riches, and sometimes keep our very Nobles in Dependance, as well as habituate them to vile Companions, wholly take them from the Im-

 provement

provement of their Minds, and force them, by the Losses they have received, to learn and practice that infamous Dexterity upon others.

HE was perfectly astonished with the historical Account I gave him of our Affairs during the last Century, protesting it was only an heap of Conspiracies, Rebellions, Murders, Massacres, Revolutions, Banishments, the very worst Effects that Avarice, Faction, Hypocrisy, Perfidiousness, Cruelty, Rage, Madness, Hatred, Envy, Lust, Malice, or Ambition could produce.

HIS Majesty in another Audience was at the Pains to recapitulate the Sum of all I had spoken, compared the Questions he made with the Answers I had given; then taking me into his Hands, and stroaking me gently, delivered himself in these Words, which I shall never forget, nor the manner he spoke them in. My little Friend *Grildrig*; you have made a most admirable Panegyrick upon your Country. You have clearly proved that Ignorance, Idleness and Vice may be sometimes the only Ingredients for qualifying a Legislator. That Laws are best explained, interpreted, and applied by those whose Interest and Abilities lye in perverting, confounding, and eluding them. I observe among you some Lines of an Institution, which in its Original might have been tolerable, but these half erased, and the rest wholly blurred and blotted by Corruptions. It doth not appear from all you have said, how any one Virtue is required towards the Procurement of any one Station among you, much less that Men were ennobled on Account of their Virtue, that

Priests were advanced for their Piety or Learning, Soldiers for their Conduct or Valour, Judges for their Integrity, Senators for the Love of their Country, or Counsellors for their Wisdom. As for yourself (continued the King) who have spent the greatest part of your Life in travelling, I am well disposed to hope you may hitherto have escaped many Vices of your Country. But, by what I have gathered from your own Relation, and the Answers I have with much Pains wringed and extorted from you, I cannot but conclude the Bulk of your Natives to be the most pernicious Race of little odious Vermin that Nature ever suffered to crawl upon the Surface of the Earth.

CHAP. VII

The Author's Love of his Country. He makes a Proposal of much Advantage to the King, which is rejected. The King's great Ignorance in Politicks. The Learning of that Country very imperfect and confined. Their Laws, and military Affairs, and Parties in the State.

NOTHING but an extreme Love of Truth could have hindred me from concealing this part of my Story. It was in vain to discover my Resentments, which were always turned into Ridicule; And I was forced to rest with Patience while my noble and most beloved Country was so injuriously treated. I am heartily sorry as any of my Readers can possibly be, that such an Occasion was given: But this Prince happened to be so curious and inquisitive upon every Particular, that it could not consist either with Gratitude or good Manners to refuse giving him what Satisfaction I was able. Yet thus much I may be allowed to say in my own Vindication, that I artfully eluded many of his Questions, and gave to every Point a more favourable turn by many Degrees than the strictness of Truth would allow. For, I have always born that laudable Partiality to my own Country, which *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* with so much Justice recommends to an Historian. I would hide the Frailties and Deformities of my Political Mother, and place her Virtues and Beauties in the most advantageous Light.

 This

This was my sincere Endeavour in those many Discourses I had with that Monarch, although it unfortunately failed of Success.

But, great Allowances should be given to a King who lives wholly secluded from the rest of the World, and must therefore be altogether unacquainted with the Manners and Customs that most prevail in other Nations: The want of which Knowledge will ever produce many *Prejudices*, and a certain *Narrowness of Thinking*, from which we and the politer Countries of *Europe* are wholly exempted. And it would be hard indeed, if so remote a Prince's Notions of Virtue and Vice were to be offered as a Standard for all Mankind.

To confirm what I have now said, and further to shew the miserable Effects of a *confined Education*, I shall here insert a Passage which will hardly obtain Belief. In hopes to ingratiate my self farther into his Majesty's Favour, I told him of an Invention discovered between three and four hundred Years ago, to make a certain Powder, into an heap of which the smallest spark of Fire falling, would kindle the whole in a Moment, although it were as big as a Mountain, and make it all fly up in the Air together, with a Noise and Agitation greater than Thunder. That, a proper quantity of this Powder rammed into an hollow Tube of Brass or Iron, according to its Bigness, would drive a Ball of Iron or Lead with such Violence and speed as nothing was able to sustain its Force. That the largest Balls thus discharged, would not only destroy whole Ranks of an Army at once, but batter the strongest Walls to the Ground, sink down Ships with a thousand Men

in each, to the bottom of the Sea; and when linked together by a Chain, would cut through Masts and Rigging, divide hundreds of Bodies in the middle, and lay all waste before them. That we often put this Powder into large hollow Balls of Iron, and discharged them by an Engine into some City we were besieging, which would rip up the Pavements, tear the Houses to Pieces, burst and throw Splinters on every side, dashing out the Brains of all who came near. That I knew the Ingredients very well, which were cheap, and common; I understood the manner of compounding them, and could direct his Workmen how to make those Tubes, of a Size proportionable to all other Things in his Majesty's Kingdom, and the largest need not be above an hundred Foot long; twenty or thirty of which Tubes charged with the proper quantity of Powder and Balls, would batter down the Walls of the strongest Town in his Dominions in a few Hours, or destroy the whole Metropolis, if ever it should pretend to dispute his absolute Commands. This I humbly offered to his Majesty as a small Tribute of Acknowledgment in return of so many Marks that I had received of his Royal Favor and Protection.

THE King was struck with Horror at the Description I had given of those terrible Engines, and the Proposal I had made. He was amazed how so impotent and groveling an Insect as I (these were his Expressions) could entertain such inhuman Ideas, and in so familiar a manner as to appear wholly unmoved at all the Scenes of Blood and Desolation, which I had painted as the common Effects of those destructive Machines, whereof he said, some evil Genius, Enemy to Mankind,

must have been the first Contriver. As for himself, he protested, that although few Things delighted him so much as new Discoveries in Art or in Nature, yet he would rather lose half his Kingdom than be privy to such a Secret, which he commanded me, as I valued my Life, never to mention any more.

A STRANGE Effect of *narrow Principles* and *short Views!* that a Prince possessed of every Quality which procures Veneration, Love and Esteem; of strong Parts, great Wisdom and profound Learning, endued with admirable Talents for Government, and almost adored by his Subjects, should from a *nice unnecessary Scruple*, whereof in *Europe* we can have no Conception, let slip an Opportunity put into his Hands, that would have made him absolute Master of the Lives, the Liberties, and the Fortunes of his People. Neither do I say this with the least Intention to detract from the many Virtues of that excellent King, whose Character I am sensible will on this account be very much lessened in the Opinion of an English Reader: But, I take this Defect among them to have risen from their Ignorance, they not having hitherto reduced *Politicks* into a *Science*, as the more acute wits of *Europe* have done. For, I remember very well, in a Discourse one Day with the King, when I happened to say there were several thousand Books among us written upon the *Art of Government*, it gave him (directly contrary to my Intention) a very mean Opinion of our Understandings. He professed both to abominate and despise all *Mystery*, *Refinement*, and *Intrigue*, either in a Prince or a Minister. He could not tell what I meant by *Secrets of State*, where an Enemy or some rival Nation were not in the Case.

 He

He confined the Knowledge of governing within very *narrow Bounds*; to common Sense and Reason, to Justice and Lenity, to the speedy Determination of civil and criminal Causes; with some other obvious Topicks which are not worth considering. And, he gave it for his Opinion, that whoever could make two Ears of Corn, or two Blades of Grass to grow upon a spot of Ground where only one grew before, would deserve better of Mankind, and do more essential Service to his Country than the whole Race of Politicians put together.

THE Learning of this People is very defective, consisting only in Morality, History, Poetry and Mathematicks, wherein they must be allowed to excel. But, the last of these is wholly applied to what may be useful in Life, to the Improvement of Agriculture and all mechanical Arts; so that among us it would be little esteemed. And as to Ideas, Entities, Abstractions and Transcendentals, I could never drive the least Conception into their Heads.

No Law of that Country must exceed in Words the number of Letters in their Alphabet, which consists only in two and twenty. But indeed, few of them extend even to that Length. They are expressed in the most plain and simple Terms, wherein those People are not mercurial enough to discover above one Interpretation. And to write a Comment upon any Law is a capital Crime. As to the Decision of civil Causes, or Proceedings against Criminals, their Precedents are so few, that they have little Reason to boast of any extraordinary Skill in either.

THEY have had the Art of Printing, as well as the *Chinese*, time out of mind. But their Libraries are not very large; for that of the King's, which is reckoned the biggest, doth not amount to above a thousand Volumes, placed in a Gallery of twelve hundred Foot long, from whence I had liberty to borrow what Books I pleased. The Queen's Joyner had contrived in one of *Glumdalclitch's* Rooms a kind of wooden Machine five and twenty Foot high, formed like a standing Ladder, the Steps were each fifty Foot long: It was indeed a moveable pair of Stairs, the lowest end placed at ten Foot distance from the Wall of the Chamber. The Book I had a mind to read was put up leaning against the Wall. I first mounted to the upper Step of the Ladder, and turning my Face towards the Book, began at the top of the Page, and so walking to the right and left about eight or ten Paces according to the length of the Lines, till I had gotten a little below the level of mine Eyes, and then descending gradually till I came to the bottom: After which I mounted again, and began the other Page in the same manner, and so turned over the Leaf, which I could easily do with both my Hands, for it was as thick and stiff as a Past-board, and in the largest Folio's not above eighteen or twenty Foot long.

THEIR Stile is clear, masculine, and smooth, but not florid, for they avoid nothing more than multiplying unnecessary Words, or using various Expressions. I have perused many of their Books, especially those in History and Morality. Among the rest I was much diverted with a little old Treatise, which always lay in *Glumdalclitch's* Bed-chamber, and belonged to her

 Governess,

Governess, a grave elderly Gentlewoman, who dealt in Writings of Morality and Devotion. The Book treats of the Weakness of Human kind, and is in little Esteem except among the Women and the Vulgar. However, I was curious to see what an Author of that Country could say upon such a Subject. This Writer went through all the usual Topicks of *European* Moralists, showing how diminutive, contemptible, and helpless an Animal was Man in his own nature; how unable to defend himself from Inclemencies of the Air, or the Fury of wild Beasts. How much he was excelled by one Creature in Strength, by another in Speed, by a third in Foresight, by a fourth in Industry. He added, that Nature was degenerated in these latter declining Ages of the World, and could now produce only small abortive Births in comparison of those in ancient Times. He said it was very reasonable to think, not only that the Species of Man were originally much larger, but also that there must have been Giants in former Ages, which, as it is asserted by History and Tradition, so it hath been confirmed by huge Bones and Sculls casually dug up in several Parts of the Kingdom, far exceeding the common dwindled Race of Man in our Days. He argued, that the very Laws of Nature absolutely required we should have been made in the beginning, of a size more large and robust, not so liable to Destruction from every little Accident of a Tile falling from an House, or a Stone cast from the Hand of a Boy, or of being drowned in a little Brook. From this way of Reasoning the Author drew several moral Applications useful in the Conduct of Life, but needless here to repeat. For my own part, I could not avoid reflecting how universally this Talent

 was

was spread of drawing Lectures in Morality, or indeed rather matter of Discontent and repining from the Quarrels we raise with Nature. And, I believe upon a strict Enquiry, those Quarrels might be shown as ill-grounded among us, as they are among that People.

As to their military Affairs, they boast that the King's Army consists of an hundred and seventy six thousand Foot, and thirty two thousand Horse: if that may be called an Army which is made up of Tradesmen in the several Cities, and Farmers in the Country, whose Commanders are only the Nobility and Gentry without Pay or Reward. They are indeed perfect enough in their Exercises, and under very good Discipline, wherein I saw no great Merit; for, how should it be otherwise, where every Farmer is under the Command of his own Landlord, and every Citizen under that of the principal Men in his own City, chosen after the manner of *Venice* by *Ballot*?

I HAVE often seen the Militia of *Lorbrulgrud* drawn out to Exercise in a great Field near the City of twenty Miles square. They were in all not above twenty five thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse; but it was impossible for me to compute their Number, considering the space of Ground they took up. A *Cavalier* mounted on a large Steed, might be about an hundred Foot high. I have seen this whole Body of Horse upon a Word of Command draw their Swords at once, and brandish them in the Air. Imagination can figure nothing so grand, so surprising, and so astonishing! It looked as if ten thousand Flashes of Lightning were

 darting

darting at the same time from every Quarter of the Sky.

I WAS curious to know how this Prince, to whose Dominions there is no Access from any other Country, came to think of Armies, or to teach his People the Practice of military Discipline. But I was soon informed, both by Conversation, and Reading their Histories. For, in the course of many Ages they have been troubled with the same Disease to which so many other Governments are subject; the Nobility often contending for Power, the People for Liberty, and the King for absolute Dominion. All which, however happily tempered by the Laws of the Kingdom, have been sometimes violated by each of the three Parties, and have once or more occasioned Civil Wars, the last whereof was happily put an end to by this Prince's Grandfather by a general Composition; and the Militia then settled with common Consent hath been ever since kept in the strictest Duty.

CHAP. VIII

The King and Queen make a Progress to the Frontiers. The Author attends them. The manner in which he leaves the Country very particularly related. He returns to England.

I HAD always a strong Impulse that I should sometime recover my Liberty, though it was impossible to conjecture by what Means, or to form any Project with the least hope of succeeding. The Ship in which I sailed was the first ever known to be driven within Sight of that Coast, and the King had given strict Orders, that if at any time another appeared, it should be taken ashore, and with all its Crew and Passengers brought in a Tumbril to *Lorbrulgrud.* He was strongly bent to get me a Woman of my own size, by whom I might propagate the Breed: But I think I should rather have dyed than undergone the Disgrace of leaving a Posterity to be kept in Cages like tame Canary Birds, and perhaps in time sold about the Kingdom to Persons of Quality for Curiosities. I was indeed treated with much Kindness; I was the Favourite of a great King and Queen, and the Delight of the whole Court, but it was upon such a foot as ill became the Dignity of Human Kind. I could never forget those domestick Pledges I had left behind me. I wanted to be among People with whom I could converse upon even Terms, and walk about the Streets and Fields without fear of being trod to Death like a Frog or a young Puppy. But, my Deliverance came sooner than I expected, and in

a manner not very common: The whole Story and Circumstances of which I shall faithfully relate.

I HAD now been two Years in this Country; and, about the beginning of the third, *Glumdalclitch* and I attended the King and Queen in a Progress to the South Coast of the Kingdom. I was carried as usual in my Travelling-Box, which, as I have already described, was a very convenient Closet of twelve Foot wide. And, I had ordered a Hammock to be fixed by silken Ropes from the four Corners at the Top, to break the Jolts, when a Servant carried me before him on Horseback, as I sometimes desired, and would often sleep in my Hammock while we were upon the Road. On the Roof of my Closet, not directly over the middle of the Hammock, I ordered the Joyner to cut out a Hole of a Foot square to give me Air in hot Weather as I slept, which Hole I shut at pleasure with a Board that drew backwards and forwards through a Groove.

WHEN we came to our Journey's end, the King thought proper to pass a few Days at a Palace he hath near *Flanflasnic*, a City within eighteen *English* Miles of the Sea-side. *Glumdalclitch* and I were much fatigued; I had gotten a small Cold, but the poor Girl was so ill as to be confined to her Chamber. I longed to see the Ocean, which must be the only Scene of my Escape, if ever it should happen. I pretended to be worse than I really was, and desired leave to take the fresh Air of the Sea, with a Page whom I was very fond of, and who had sometimes been trusted with me. I shall never forget with what Unwillingness *Glumdalclitch*

 consented,

consented, nor the strict Charge she gave the Page to be carefull of me, bursting at the same time into a Floud of Tears, as if she had some foreboding of what was to happen. The Boy took me out in my Box about half an hours walk from the Palace towards the Rocks on the Sea-shore. I ordered him to set me down, and lifting up one of my Sashes, cast many a wistful melancholy Look towards the Sea. I found my self not very well, and told the Page that I had a mind to take a Nap in my Hammock, which I hoped would do me good. I got in, and the Boy shut the Window close down to keep out the Cold. I soon fell alseep, and all I can conjecture is, that while I slept, the Page thinking no Danger could happen, went among the Rocks to look for Birds-eggs, having before observed him from my Window searching about, and picking up one or two in the Clefts. Be that as it will, I found my self suddenly awaked with a violent Pull upon the Ring which was fastned at the top of my Box for the Conveniency of Carriage. I felt my Box raised very high in the Air, and then born forward with prodigious Speed. The first Jolt had like to have shaken me out of my Hammock, but afterwards the Motion was easy enough. I called out several times as loud as I could raise my Voice, but all to no purpose. I looked towards my Windows, and could see nothing but the Clouds and Sky. I heard a Noise just over my Head like the clapping of Wings, and then began to perceive the woful Condition I was in; that some Eagle had got the Ring of my Box in his Beak, with an intent to let it fall on a Rock like a Tortoise in a Shell, and then pick out my Body and devour it. For the Sagacity and Smell of this Bird enable him to discover his Quarry

at

at a great distance, though better concealed than I could be within a two Inch Board.

In a little time I observed the noise and flutter of Wings to encrease very fast, and my Box was tossed up and down like a Sign-post in a windy Day. I heard several Bangs or Buffets, as I thought, given to the Eagle (for such I am certain it must have been that held the Ring of my Box in his Beak) and then all on a sudden felt my self falling perpendicularly down for above a Minute, but with such incredible Swiftness that I almost lost my Breath. My Fall was stopped by a terrible Squash, that sounded louder to mine Ears than the cataract of *Niagara*; after which I was quite in the dark for another Minute, and then my Box began to rise so high that I could see Light from the tops of my Windows. I now perceived that I was fallen into the Sea. My Box, by the Weight of my Body, the Goods that were in, and the broad Plates of Iron fixed for Strength at the four Corners of the top and bottom, floated about five Foot deep in Water. I did then, and do now suppose that the Eagle which flew away with my Box was persued by two or three others, and forced to let me drop while he was defending himself against the rest, who hoped to share in the Prey. The Plates of Iron fastned at the bottom of the Box, (for those were the strongest) preserved the Balance while it fell, and hindred it from being broken on the surface of the Water. Every joint of it was well grooved, and the Door did not move on Hinges, but up and down like a Sash which kept my Closet so tight that very little Water came in. I got with much Difficulty out of my Hammock, having first ventured

to draw back the Slip-board on the Roof already mentioned, contrived on purpose to let in Air, for want of which I found my self almost stifled.

How often did I then wish my self with my dear *Glumdalclitch*, from whom one single Hour had so far divided me! And I may say with truth, that in the midst of my own Misfortunes I could not forbear lamenting my poor Nurse, the Grief she would suffer for my Loss, the Displeasure of the Queen, and the Ruin of her Fortune. Perhaps many Travellers have not been under greater Difficulties and Distress than I was at this Juncture, expecting every Moment to see my Box dashed in Pieces, or at least overset by the first violent Blast, or a rising Wave. A Breach in one single Pane of Glass would have been immediate Death: Nor could any thing have preserved the Windows but the strong Lettice Wires placed on the outside against Accidents in Travelling. I saw the Water ooze in at several Crannies, although the Leaks were not considerable, and I endeavoured to stop them as well as I could. I was not able to lift up the Roof of my Closet, which otherwise I certainly should have done, and sate on the top of it, where I might at least preserve my self some Hours longer than by being shut up, as I may call it, in the Hold. Or, if I escaped these Dangers for a Day or two, what could I expect but a miserable Death of Cold and Hunger! I was four Hours under these Circumstances, expecting and indeed wishing every Moment to be my last.

I HAVE already told the Reader, that there were two strong Staples fixed upon that side of my Box which

had

had no Window, and into which the Servant who used to carry me on horseback would put a leathern Belt, and buckle it about his Waste. Being in this disconsolate state, I heard or at least thought I heard some kind of grating Noise on that side of my Box where the Staples were fixed, and soon after I began to fancy that the Box was pulled, or towed along in the Sea; for I now and then felt a sort of tugging which made the Waves rise near the tops of my Windows, leaving me almost in the dark. This gave me some faint hopes of Relief, although I was not able to imagine how it could be brought about. I ventured to unscrew one of my Chairs, which were always fastned to the Floor; and having made a hard shift to screw it down again directly under the Slipping-board that I had lately opened, I mounted on the Chair, and putting my Mouth as near as I could to the Hole, I called for help in a loud Voice, and in all the Languages I understood. I then fastned my Handkerchief to a Stick I usually carried, and thrusting it up the Hole, waved it several times in the Air, that if any Boat or Ship were near, the Seamen might conjecture some unhappy Mortal to be shut up in the Box.

I FOUND no effect from all I could do, but plainly perceived my Closet to be moved along; and in the space of an Hour, or better, that side of the Box where the Staples were, and had no Window, struck against something that was hard. I apprehended it to be a Rock, and found my self tossed more than ever. I plainly heard a Noise upon the Cover of my Closet, like that of a Cable, and the grating of it as it passed through the Ring. I then found my self hoisted up by

 degrees

degrees at least three Foot higher than I was before. Whereupon, I again thrust up my Stick and Handkerchief, calling for Help till I was almost hoarse. In return to which, I heard a great Shout repeated three times, giving me such Transports of Joy as are not to be conceived but by those who feel them. I now heard a trampling over my Head, and somebody calling through the Hole with a Loud Voice in the *English* Tongue; If there be any Body below let them speak. I answered, I was an *Englishman*, drawn by ill Fortune into the greatest Calamity that ever any Creature underwent, and begged, by all that was moving, to be delivered out of the Dungeon I was in. The Voice replied, I was safe, for my Box was fastned to their Ship; and the Carpenter should immediately come, and saw an Hole in the Cover, large enough to pull me out. I answered, that was needless, and would take up too much time, for there was no more to be done, but let one of the Crew put his Finger into the Ring, and take the Box out of the Sea into the Ship, and so into the Captain's Cabbin. Some of them upon hearing me talk so wildly thought I was mad; others laughed; for indeed it never came into my head that I was not got among People of my own Stature and Strength. The Carpenter came, and in a few Minutes sawed a Passage about four Foot square, then let down a small Ladder, upon which I mounted, and from thence was taken into the Ship in a very weak Condition.

The Sailors were all in Amazement, and asked me a thousand Questions, which I had no Inclination to answer. I was equally confounded at the Sight of so many Pigmies, for such I took them to be, after having

so long accustomed mine Eyes to the monstrous Objects I had left. But the Captain, Mr. *Thomas Wilcocks*, an honest worthy *Shropshire* Man, observing I was ready to faint, took me into his Cabbin, gave me a Cordial to comfort me, and made me *turn in* upon his own Bed, advising me to take a little Rest, of which I had great need. Before I went to sleep I gave him to understand that I had some valuable Furniture in my Box too good to be lost; a fine Hammock, an handsome Field-Bed, two Chairs, a Table and a Cabinet: That my Closet was hung on all sides, or rather quilted with Silk and Cotton: That if he would let one of the Crew bring my Closet into his Cabbin, I would open it there before him, and shew him my Goods. The Captain hearing me utter these Absurdities, concluded I was raving: However, (I suppose to pacify me) he promised to give Order as I desired, and going upon Deck sent some of his Men down into my Closet, from whence (as I afterwards found) they drew up all my Goods, and stripped off the Quilting; but the Chairs, Cabinet and Bed-sted being screwed to the Floor, were much damaged by the Ignorance of the Seamen, who tore them up by Force. Then they knocked off some of the Boards for the use of the Ship, and when they had got all they had a mind for, let the Hulk drop into the Sea, which by reason of many Breaches made in the bottom and sides, sunk to rights. And indeed I was glad not to have been a Spectator of the Havock they made; because I am confident it would have sensibly touched me, by bringing former Passages into my Mind, which I had rather forget.

I SLEPT some Hours, but perpetually disturbed with Dreams of the Place I had left, and the Dangers I had

 escaped.

escaped. However, upon waking I found my self much recovered. It was now about eight a Clock at Night, and the Captain ordered Supper immediately, thinking I had already fasted too long. He entertained me with great Kindness, observing me not to look wildly, or talk inconsistently; and when we were left alone, desired I would give him a Relation of my Travels, and by what Accident I came to be set adrift in that monstrous wooden Chest. He said, that about twelve a Clock at Noon, as he was looking through his Glass, he spied it at a distance, and thought it was a Sail, which he had a mind to make, being not much out of his Course, in hopes of buying some Biscuit, his own beginning to fall short. That upon coming nearer, and finding his Error, he sent out his Long-boat to discover what I was; that his Men came back in a Fright, swearing they had seen a swimming House. That he laughed at their Folly, and went himself in the Boat, ordering his Men to take a strong Cable along with them. That the Weather being calm, he rowed round me several times, observed my Windows, and the wire Lettices that defended them. That he discovered two Staples upon one side, which was all of Boards, without any Passage for Light. He then commanded his Men to row up to that Side, and fastning a Cable to one of the Staples, ordered them to tow my Chest (as he called it) towards the Ship. When it was there, he gave Directions to fasten another Cable to the Ring fixed in the Cover, and to raise up my Chest with Pullies, which all the Sailors were not able to do above two or three Foot. He said, they saw my Stick and Handkerchief thrust out of the Hole, and concluded, that some unhappy Men must be shut up in the Cavity.

I asked whether he or the Crew had seen any prodigious Birds in the Air about the time he first discovered me. To which he answered, that discoursing this matter with the Sailors while I was asleep, one of them said he had *observed* three Eagles flying towards the North, but remarked nothing of their being larger than the usual Size, which I suppose must be imputed to the great Height they were at: and he could not guess the reason of my Question. I then asked the Captain how far he reckoned we might be from Land; he said, by the best Computation he could make, we were at least an hundred Leagues. I assured him, that he must be mistaken by almost half, for I had not left the Country from whence I came above two Hours before I dropt into the Sea. Whereupon he began again to think that my Brain was disturbed, of which he gave me a Hint, and advised me to go to Bed in a Cabbin he had provided. I assured him I was well refreshed with his good Entertainment and Company, and as much in my Senses as ever I was in my Life. He then grew serious, and desired to ask me freely whether I were not troubled in Mind by the Consciousness of some enormous Crime, for which I was punished at the Command of some Prince, by exposing me in that Chest, as great Criminals in other Countries have been forced to Sea in a leaky Vessel without Provisions: For, although he should be sorry to have taken so ill a Man into his Ship, yet he would engage his Word to set me safe on Shore in the first Port where we arrived. He added, that his Suspicions were much increased by some very absurd Speeches I had delivered at first to the Sailors, and afterwards to himself, in relation to my Closet or Chest, as well

as by my odd Looks and Behaviour while I was at Supper.

I BEGGED his Patience to hear me tell my Story, which I faithfully did from the last time I left *England* to the Moment he first discovered me. And, as Truth always forceth its way into rational Minds; so, this honest worthy Gentleman, who had some Tincture of Learning, and very good Sense, was immediately convinced of my Candor and Veracity. But further to confirm all I had said, I entreated him to give Order that my Cabinet should be brought, of which I had the Key in my Pocket, (for he had already informed me how the Seamen disposed of my Closet) I opened it in his own Presence, and shewed him the small Collection of Rarities I made in the Country from whence I had been so strangely delivered. There was the Comb I had contrived out of the Stumps of the King's Beard, and another of the same Materials, but fixed into a paring of her Majesty's Thumb-nail, which served for the Back. There was a Collection of Needles and Pins from a Foot to half a Yard long. Four Wasp Stings, like Joyners Tacks: Some Combings of the Queen's Hair: A gold Ring which one Day she made me a Present of in a most obliging manner, taking it from her little Finger, and throwing it over my Head like a Collar. I desired the Captain would please to accept this Ring in return of his Civilities, which he absolutely refused. I shewed him a Corn that I had cut off with my own Hand from a Maid of Honor's Toe, it was about the Bigness of a Kentish Pippin, and grown so hard, that when I returned to *England*, I got it hollowed into a Cup and set in Silver. Lastly, I

 desired

desired him to see the Breeches I had then on, which were made of a Mouse's Skin.

I COULD force nothing on him but a Footman's Tooth, which I observed him to examine with great Curiosity, and found he had a Fancy for it. He received it with abundance of Thanks, more than such a Trifle could deserve. It was drawn by an unskilful Surgeon in a Mistake from one of *Glumdalclitch's* Men, who was afflicted with the Tooth-ach, but it was as sound as any in his Head. I got it cleaned, and put it into my Cabinet. It was about a Foot long, and four Inches in Diameter.

THE Captain was very well satisfied with this plain Relation I had given him; and said, he hoped when we returned to *England*, I would oblige the World by putting it in Paper, and making it publick. My Answer was, that I thought we were already overstocked with Books of Travels: That nothing could now pass which was not extraordinary, wherein I doubted some Authors less consulted Truth than their own Vanity or Interest, or the Diversion of ignorant Readers. That my Story could contain little besides common Events, without those ornamental Descriptions of strange Plants, Trees, Birds, and other Animals, or of the barbarous Customs and Idolatry of savage People, with which most Writers abound. However, I thanked him for his good Opinion, and promised to take the matter into my Thoughts.

HE said he wondered at one thing very much, which was to hear me speak so loud, asking me whether the

King or Queen of that Country were thick of Hearing. I told him, it was what I had been used to for above two Years past, and that I admired as much at the Voices of him and his Men, who seemed to me only to whisper, and yet I could hear them well enough. But, when I spoke in that Country, it was like a Man talking in the Street to another looking out from the Top of a Steeple, unless when I was placed on a Table, or held in any Person's Hand. I told him I had likewise observed another thing, that when I first got into the Ship, and the Sailors stood all about me, I thought they were the most little contemptible Creatures I had ever beheld. For, indeed, while I was in that Prince's Country, I could never endure to look in a Glass after mine Eyes had been accustomed to such prodigious Objects, because the Comparison gave me so despicable a Conceit of my self. The Captain said, that while we were at Supper, he observed me to look at every thing with a sort of Wonder, and that I often seemed hardly able to contain my Laughter, which he knew not well how to take, but imputed it to some Disorder in my Brain. I answered, it was very true, and I wondered how I could forbear, when I saw his Dishes of the size of a silver Three-pence, a Leg of Pork hardly a Mouthful, a cup not so big as a Nut-shell: and so I went on, describing the rest of his Household-stuff and Provisions after the same manner. For although the Queen had ordered a little Equipage of all things necessary while I was in her Service, yet my Ideas were wholly taken up with what I saw on every side of me, and I winked at my own Littleness as People do at their own Faults. The Captain understood my Raillery very well, and merrily replied with

 the

the old *English* Proverb, that he doubted mine Eyes were bigger than my Belly, for he did not observe my Stomach so good, although I had fasted all Day; and continuing in his Mirth, protested he would have gladly given an hundred Pounds to have seen my Closet in the Eagle's Bill, and afterwards in its fall from so great an height into the Sea; which would certainly have been a most astonishing Object, worthy to have the Description of it transmitted to future Ages: And the Comparison of *Phaeton* was so obvious, that he could not forbear applying it, although I did not much admire the Conceit.

THE Captain having been at *Tonquin* was in his return to *England* driven North eastward to the Latitude of 44 Degrees, and of Longitude 143. But meeting a Trade Wind two Days after I came on board him, we sailed Southward a long time, and coasting *New-Holland* kept our Course West-south-west, and then South-south-west till we doubled the *Cape of Good-hope*. Our Voyage was very prosperous, but I shall not trouble the Reader with a Journal of it. The Captain called in at one or two Ports and sent in his Long-boat for Provisions and fresh Water, but I never went out of the Ship till we came into the Downs, which was on the 3d. Day of *June* 1706, about nine Months after my Escape. I offered to leave my Goods in Security for Payment of my Freight; but the Captain protested he would not receive one Farthing. We took kind leave of each other, and I made him promise he would come to see me at my House in *Redriff*. I hired a Horse and Guide for five Shillings, which I borrowed of the Captain.

As I was on the Road, observing the Littleness of the Houses, the Trees, the Cattle and the People, I began to think my self in *Lilliput.* I was afraid of trampling on every Traveller I met, and often called aloud to have them stand out of the way, so that I had like to have gotten one or two broken Heads for my Impertinence.

When I came to my own House, for which I was forced to enquire, one of the Servants opening the Door, I bent down to go in (like a Goose under a Gate) for fear of striking my Head. My Wife ran out to embrace me, but I stooped lower than her Knees, thinking she could otherwise never be able to reach my Mouth. My Daughter kneeled to ask my Blessing, but I could not see her till she arose, having been so long used to stand with my Head and Eyes erect to above sixty Foot; and then I went to take her up with one Hand, by the Waste. I looked down upon the Servants and one or two Friends who were in the House, as if they had been Pigmies, and I a Giant. I told my Wife she had been too thrifty, for I found she had starved herself and her Daughter to nothing. In short, I behaved my self so unaccountably, that they were all of the Captain's Opinion when he first saw me, and concluded I had lost my Wits. This I mention as an Instance of the great Power of Habit and Prejudice.

In a little time I and my Family and Friends came to a right Understanding: But my wife protested I should never go to Sea any more; although my evil

 Destiny

Destiny so ordered that she had not Power to hinder me, as the Reader may know hereafter. In the mean time I here conclude the Second Part of my unfortunate Voyages.

The End of the SECOND PART.

TRAVELS

INTO SEVERAL

Remote Nations

OF THE

WORLD.

By Captain LEMUEL GULLIVER.

PART III.

A VOYAGE to LAPUTA, BALNIBARBI, GLUBBDUBDRIB, LUGGNAGG and JAPAN.

PART IV.

A VOYAGE to the HOUYHNHNMS.

LONDON:

Printed for BENJAMIN MOTTE, at the *Middle-Temple-Gate.* MDCCXXVI.

THE

CONTENTS

CHAP. I

THE Author sets out on his third Voyage; is taken by Pyrates. The Malice of a Dutchman. *His Arrival at an Island. He is received into* Laputa.

CHAP II

The Humours and Dispositions of the Laputians *described. An Account of their Learning. Of the King and his Court. The Author's Reception there. The Inhabitants subject to Fears and Disquietudes. An Account of the Women.*

CHAP. III

A Phænomenon *solved by modern Philosophy and Astronomy. The* Laputians *great Improvements in the latter. The King's Method of suppressing Insurrections.*

CHAP. IV

The Author leaves Laputa, *is conveyed to* Balnibarbi, *arrives at the Metropolis. A Description of the Metropolis and the Country adjoyning. The Author hospitably received by a great Lord. His Conversation with that Lord.*

CHAP. V

The Author permitted to see the grand Academy of Lagado. *The Academy largely described. The Arts wherein the Professors employ themselves.*

CHAP. VI

A further Account of the Academy. The Author proposes some Improvements, which are honourably received.

CHAP. VII

The Author leaves Lagado, *arrives at* Maldonada. *No Ship ready. He takes a short Voyage to* Glubbdubdrib. *His reception by the Governor.*

CHAP. VIII

A further Account of Glubbdubdrib. *Antient and Modern History corrected.*

CHAP. IX

The Author's Return to Maldonada, *sails to the Kingdom of* Luggnagg. *The Author confined. He is sent for to Court. The Manner of his Admittance. The King's great Lenity to his Subjects.*

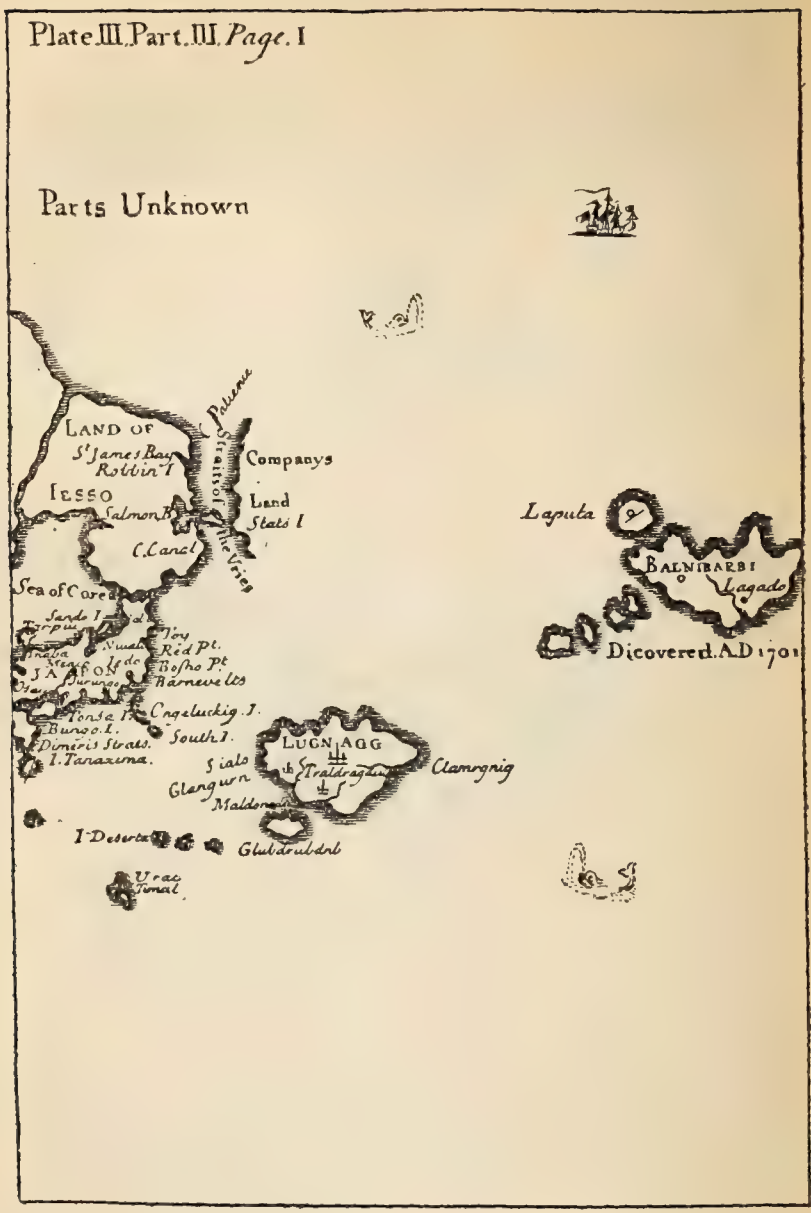
CHAP. X

The Luggnaggians *commended. A particular Description of the* Struldbruggs, *with many Conversations between the Author and some eminent Persons upon that Subject.*

CHAP. XI

The Author leaves Luggnagg, *and sails to* Japan. *From thence he returns in a* Dutch *Ship to* Amsterdam, *and from* Amsterdam *to* England.

Plate III. Part. III. *Page.* I



TRAVELS

PART III

A VOYAGE *to* LAPUTA, BALNIBARBI, LUGGNAGG, GLUBBDUBDRIB *and* JAPAN.

CHAP. I

The Author sets out on his Third Voyage, is taken by Pyrates. The Malice of a Dutch-man. *His arrival at an Island. He is received into* Laputa.

I HAD not been at home above ten Days, when Captain *William Robinson*, a *Cornish* Man, Commander of the *Hope-well*, a stout Ship of Three Hundred Tuns, came to my House. I had formerly been Surgeon of another Ship where he was Master, and a fourth part Owner, in a Voyage to the *Levant*; He had always treated me more like a Brother than an inferior Officer, and hearing of my Arrival made me a Visit,

as I apprehended only out of Friendship, for nothing passed more than what is usual after long Absences. But repeating his Visits often, expressing his Joy to find me in good Health, asking whether I were now settled for Life, adding that he intended a Voyage to the *East-Indies* in two Months; At last he plainly invited me, though with some Apologies, to be Surgeon of the Ship; that I should have another Surgeon under me besides our two Mates; that my Sallary should be double to the usual Pay; and that having experienced my Knowledge in Sea-Affairs to be at least equal to his, he would enter into any Engagement to follow my Advice, as much as if I had share in the Command.

He said so many other obliging things, and I knew him to be so honest a Man, that I could not reject his Proposal; the Thirst I had of seeing the World, notwithstanding my past Misfortunes, continuing as violent as ever. The only Difficulty that remained, was to persuade my Wife, whose consent however I at last obtained, by the prospect of Advantage she proposed to her Children.

We set out the 5th Day of *August*, 1706. and arrived at Fort St. *George*, the 11th of *April* 1707. stayed there three Weeks to refresh our Crew, many of whom were sick. From thence we went to *Tonquin*, where the Captain resolved to continue some time, because many of the Goods he intended to buy were not ready, nor could he expect to be dispatched in some Months. Therefore in hopes to defray some of the Charges he must be at, he bought a Sloop, loaded it with several sorts of Goods, wherewith the *Tonquinese* usually trade

to the Neighbouring Islands, and putting Fourteen Men on Board, whereof three were of the Country, he appointed me Master of the Sloop, and gave me power to Traffick for two Months, while he transacted his Affairs at *Tonquin*.

We had not Sailed above three Days, when a great Storm arising, we were driven five Days to the North-North-East, and then to the East, after which we had fair Weather, but still with a pretty strong Gale from the West. Upon the tenth Day we were chased by two Pyrates, who soon overtook us; for my Sloop was so deep loaden, that she sailed very slow, neither were we in a Condition to defend our selves.

We were boarded about the same time by both the Pyrates, who enter'd furiously at the Head of their Men, but finding us all prostrate upon our Faces, (for so I gave order,) they pinioned us with strong Ropes, and setting a Guard upon us, went to search the Sloop.

I observed among them a *Dutch-man*, who seemed to be of some Authority, though he was not Commander of either Ship. He knew us by our Countenances to be *English*-Men, and jabbering to us in his own Language, swore we should be tyed Back to Back, and thrown into the Sea. I spoke *Dutch* tolerably well; I told him who we were, and begged him in consideration of our being Christians and Protestants, of neighbouring Countrys, in strict Alliance, that he would move the Captains to take some pity on us. This inflamed his Rage, he repeated his Threatnings, and turning to his Companions, spoke with great Vehe-

mence, in the *Japanese* Language, as I suppose, often using the word *Christianos*.

The largest of the two Pyrate Ships was Commanded by a *Japanese* Captain, who spoke a little *Dutch*, but very imperfectly. He came up to me, and after several Questions, which I answered in great Humility, he said we should not dye. I made the Captain a very low Bow, and then turning to the *Dutch-man*, said, I was sorry to find more Mercy in a Heathen, than in a Brother Christian. But I had soon reason to repent those foolish Words; For that malicious Reprobate, having often endeavoured in vain to persuade both the Captains that I might be thrown into the Sea, (which they would not yield to after the Promise made me, that I should not dye) however prevailed so far as to have a Punishment inflicted on me, worse in all human Appearance than Death it self. My Men were sent by an equal Division into both the Pyrate-Ships, and my Sloop new manned. As to my self, it was determined that I should be set a drift in a small Canoe, with Paddles and a Sail, and four Days Provisions, which last the *Japanese* Captain was so kind to double out of his own Stores, and would permit no Man to search me. I got down into the Canoe, while the *Dutch-man* standing upon the Deck, loaded me with all the Curses and injurious Terms his Language could afford.

About an Hour before we saw the Pyrates, I had taken an Observation, and found we were in the Latitude of 46. N. and of Longitude 183. When I was at some distance from the Pyrates, I discovered by my Pocket Glass several Islands to the South-East. I set

up my Sail, the Wind being fair, with a design to reach the nearest of those Islands, which I made a shift to do in about three Hours. It was all Rocky, however I got many Birds Eggs, and striking Fire I kindled some Heath and dry Sea Weed, by which I roasted my Eggs. I eat no other Supper, being resolved to spare my Provisions as much as I could. I passed the Night under the shelter of a Rock, strowing some Heath under me, and slept pretty well.

THE next Day I sailed to another Island, and thence to a third and fourth, sometimes using my Sail, and sometimes my Paddles. But not to trouble the Reader with a particular account of my Distresses, let it suffice that on the 5th Day, I arrived at the last Island in my sight, which lay South-South-East to the former.

THIS Island was at a greater distance than I expected, and I did not reach it in less than five Hours. I encompassed it almost round before I could find a convenient Place to land in, which was a small Creek, about three times the wideness of my Canoe. I found the Island to be all rocky, only a little intermingled with Tufts of Grass, and sweet smelling Herbs. I took out my small Provisions, and after having refreshed myself, I secured the remainder in a Cave, whereof there were great Numbers. I gathered plenty of Eggs upon the Rocks, and got a Quantity of dry Sea-weed, and parched Grass, which I designed to kindle the next Day, and roast my Eggs as well as I could. (For I had about me my Flint, Steel, Match, and Burning-glass.) I lay all Night in the Cave where I had lodged my Provisions. My Bed was the same dry

Grass and Sea-weed which I intended for Fewel. I slept very little, for the Disquiets of my Mind prevailed over my Wearyness, and kept me awake. I considered how impossible it was to preserve my Life, in so desolate a Place, and how miserable my End must be. Yet I found my self so listless and desponding, that I had not the Heart to rise, and before I could get Spirits enough to creep out of my Cave, the Day was far advanced. I walked a while among the Rocks, the Sky was perfectly clear, and the Sun so hot, that I was forced to turn my Face from it: When all on a sudden it became obscured, as I thought, in a manner very different from what happens by the Interposition of a Cloud. I turned back, and perceived a vast Opake Body between me and the Sun, moving forwards towards the Island: It seemed to be about two Miles high, and hid the Sun six or seven Minutes, but I did not observe the Air to be much colder, or the Sky more darkned, than if I had stood under the shade of a Mountain. As it approached nearer over the Place where I was, it appeared to be a firm Substance, the Bottom flat, smooth, and shining very bright from the Reflexion of the Sea below. I stood upon a Height about two Hundred Yards from the Shoar, and saw this vast Body descending almost to a Parallel with me, at less than an *English* Mile distance. I took out my Pocket-Perspective, and could plainly discover Numbers of People moving up and down the Sides of it, which appeared to be Sloping, but what those People were doing, I was not able to distinguish.

The natural Love of Life gave me some inward Motions of Joy, and I was ready to entertain a Hope,

 that

that this Adventure might some way or other help to deliver me from the desolate Place and Condition I was in. But at the same time the Reader can hardly conceive my Astonishment, to behold an Island in the Air, inhabited by Men, who were able (as it should seem) to raise, or sink, or put it into a Progressive Motion, as they pleased. But not being at that time in a disposition to philosophise upon this Phœnomenon, I rather chose to observe what Course the Island would take, because it seemed for a while to stand still. Yet soon after it advanced nearer, and I could see the Sides of it, encompassed with several Gradations of Gallerys and Stairs, at certain Intervals, to descend from one to the other. In the lowest Gallery, I beheld some People Fishing with long Angling Rods, and others looking on. I waved my Cap, (for my Hat was long since worn out,) and my Handkerchief towards the Island; and upon its nearer approach, I called and shouted with the utmost strength of my Voice; and then looking circumspectly, I beheld a Crowd gathered to that side which was most in my View. I found by their pointing towards me and to each other, that they plainly discovered me, although they made no return to my shouting. But I could see four or five Men running in great hast up the Stairs to the Top of the Island, who then disappeared. I happened rightly to conjecture, that these were sent for Orders to some Person in Authority upon this Occasion.

The number of People encreased, and in less than half an Hour, the Island was moved and raised in such a manner, that the lowest Gallery appeared in a Parallel of less than an Hundred Yards distance from

 the

the Height where I stood. I then put my self into the most supplicating Postures, and spoke in the humblest Accent, but received no Answer. Those who stood nearest over-against me, seemed to be Persons of Distinction, as I supposed by their Habit. They conferred earnestly with each other, looking often upon me. At length one of them called out in a clear, polite, smooth Dialect, not unlike in sound to the *Italian*; and therefore I returned an Answer in that Language, hoping at least that the Cadence might be more agreeable to his Ears. Although neither of us understood the other, yet my meaning was easily known, for the People saw the Distress I was in.

THEY made Signs for me to come down from the Rock, and go towards the Shoar, which I accordingly did; and the flying Island being raised to a convenient Height, the Verge directly over me, a Chain was let down from the lowest Gallery, with a Seat fastned to the Bottom, to which I fixed my self, and was drawn up by Pullies.

CHAP. II

The Humours and Dispositions of the Laputians *described. An Account of their Learning. Of the King and his Court. The Authors Reception there. The Inhabitants subject to Fears and Disquietudes. An Account of the Women.*

AT my alighting I was surrounded by a Crowd of People, but those who stood nearest seemed to be of better Quality. They beheld me with all the Marks and Circumstances of Wonder, neither indeed was I much in their Debt; having never till then seen a Race of Mortals so singular in their Shapes, Habits, and Countenances. Their Heads were all reclined either to the Right, or the Left; one of their Eyes turned inward, and the other directly up to the Zenith. Their outward Garments were adorned with the Figures of Suns, Moons, and Stars, interwoven with those of Fiddles, Flutes, Harps, Trumpets, Guittars, Harpsicords, and many other Instruments of Musick, unknown to us in *Europe*. I observed here and there many in the Habit of Servants, with a blown Bladder fastned like a Flayl to the end of a short Stick, which they carryed in their Hands. In each Bladder was a small Quantity of dryed Pease or little Pebbles, (as I was afterwards informed.) With these Bladders they now and then flapped the Mouths and Ears of those who stood near them, of which Practice I could not then conceive the meaning; It seems, the Minds of these People are so taken up with intense Speculations,

 that

that they neither can speak, nor attend to the Discourses of others, without being rouzed by some external Taction upon the Organs of Speech and Hearing; for which reason, those Persons who are able to afford it always keep a *Flapper*, (the Original is *Climenole*) in their Family, as one of their Domesticks, nor ever walk abroad or make Visits without him. And the Business of this Officer is, when two or three more Persons are in Company, gently to strike with his Bladder the Mouth of him who is to speak, and the Right Ear of him or them to whom the Speaker addresseth himself. This *Flapper* is likewise employed diligently to attend his Master in his Walks, and upon occasion to give him a soft Flap on his Eyes, because he is always so wrapped up in Cogitation, that he is in manifest danger of falling down every Precipice, and bouncing his Head against every Post, and in the Streets, of Justling others or being Justled himself into the Kennel.

It was necessary to give the Reader this Information, without which he would be at the same Loss with me, to understand the Proceedings of these People, as they conducted me up the Stairs, to the Top of the Island, and from thence to the Royal Palace. While we were Ascending, they forgot several times what they were about, and left me to my self, till their Memories were again rouzed by their *Flappers*; For they appeared altogether unmoved by the Sight of my Foreign Habit and Countenance, and by the Shouts of the Vulgar, whose Thoughts and Minds were more disengaged.

At last we entered the Palace, and proceeded into the Chamber of Presence, where I saw the King seated

 on

on his Throne, attended on each side by Persons of Prime Quality. Before the Throne, was a large Table filled with Globes and Spheres, and Mathematical Instruments of all kinds. His Majesty took not the least Notice of us, although our Entrance was not without sufficient Noise, by the Concourse of all Persons belonging to the Court. But, he was then deep in a Problem, and we attended at least an Hour, before he could solve it. There stood by him on each side, a young Page, with Flaps in their Hands, and when they saw he was at Leisure, one of them gently struck his Mouth, and the other his Right Ear, at which he started like one awaked on the sudden, and looking towards me, and the Company I was in, recollected the Occasion of our coming, whereof he had been informed before. He spoke some words, whereupon immediatly a young Man with a Flap came up to my side, and flapped me gently on the Right Ear, but I made Signs as well as I could, that I had no occasion for such an Instrument; which as I afterwards found gave His Majesty and the whole Court a very mean Opinion of my Understanding. The King, as far as I could conjecture, asked me several Questions, and I addressed my self to him in all the Languages I had. When it was found, that I could neither understand nor be understood, I was conducted by the Kings order to an Apartment in his Palace, (this Prince being distinguished above all his Predecessors for his Hospitality to Strangers,) where two Servants were appointed to attend me. My Dinner was brought, and four Persons of Quality, whom I remembered to have seen very near the Kings Person, did me the Honour to dine with me. We had two Courses, of three Dishes

 each.

each. In the first Course, there was a Shoulder of Mutton, cut into an Æquilateral Triangle, a piece of Beef into a Rhomboides, and a Pudding into a Cycloid. The second Course was two Ducks, trussed up into the Form of Fiddles; Sausages and Puddings resembling Flutes and Haut-boys, and a Breast of Veal in the shape of a Harp. The Servants cut our Bread into Cones, Cylinders, Parallelograms, and several other Mathematical Figures.

While we were at Dinner, I made bold to ask the Names of several things in their Language; and those Nobles Persons, by the Assistance of their *Flappers*, delighted to give me Answers, hoping to raise my Admiration of their great Abilities, if I could be brought to Converse with them. I was soon able to call for Bread, and Drink, or whatever else I wanted.

After Dinner my Company withdrew, and a Person was sent to me by the Kings Order, attended by a Flapper. He brought with him Pen, Ink, and Paper, and three or four Books, giving me to understand by Signs, that he was sent to teach me the Language. We sat together four Hours, in which time I wrote down a great Number of Words in Columns, with the Translations over against them. I likewise made a Shift to learn several short Sentences. For my Tutor would order one of my Servants to fetch something, to turn about, to make a Bow, to sit, or stand, or walk, and the like. Then I took down the Sentence in writing. He shewed me also in one of his Books, the Figures of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, the Zodiack, the Tropics, and Polar Circles, together with the Denominations of

 many

many Figures of Planes and Solids. He gave me the Names and Descriptions of all the Musical Instruments, and the general Terms of Art in playing on each of them. After he had left me, I placed all my Words with their Interpretations in Alphabetical Order. And thus in a few Days, by the help of a very faithful Memory, I got some insight into their Language.

THE Word, which I interpret the *Flying* or *Floating Island*, is in the Original *Laputa*, whereof I could never learn the true Etymology. *Lap* in the old obsolete Language signifieth *High*, and *Untuh* a *Governor*, from which they say by corruption was derived *Laputa* from *Lapuntuh*. But I do not approve of this Derivation, which seems to be a little strained. I ventured to offer to the Learned among them a Conjecture of my own, that *Laputa* was *quasi Lap outed ; Lap* signifying properly the dancing of the Sun Beams in the Sea, and *outed* a Wing, which however I shall not obtrude, but submit to the Judicious Reader.

THOSE to whom the King had entrusted me, observing how ill I was clad, ordered a Taylor to come next Morning, and take my Measure for a Suit of Cloths. This Operator did his Office after a different manner from those of his Trade in *Europe*. He first took my Altitude by a Quadrant, and then with a Rule and Compasses, described the Dimensions and Out-Lines of my whole Body, all which he entred upon Paper, and in Six Days brought my Cloths very ill made, and quite out of shape, by happening to mistake a Figure in the Calculation. But my Comfort was,

 that

that I observed such Accidents very frequent and little regarded.

During my Confinement for want of Cloths, and by an Indisposition that held me some Days longer, I much enlarged my Dictionary; and when I went next to Court, was able to understand many things the King spoke, and to return him some kind of Answers. His Majesty had given Orders that the Island should move North-East and by East, to the vertical Point over *Lagado*, the Metropolis of the whole Kingdom below upon the firm Earth. It was about Ninety Leagues distant, and our Voyage lasted four Days and an Half. I was not in the least sensible of the progressive Motion made in the Air by the Island. On the second Morning about Eleven a Clock, the King himself in Person, attended by his Nobility, Courtiers, and Officers, having prepared all their Musical Instruments, played on them for three Hours without Intermission, so that I was quite stunned with the noise; Neither could I possibly guess the meaning till my Tutor informed me. He said that the People of their Island had their Ears adapted to hear the Musick of the Spheres, which always played at certain Periods, and the Court was now prepared to bear their Part in what ever Instrument they most excelled.

In our journey towards *Lagado* the Capital City, his Majesty ordered that the Island should stop over certain Towns, and Villages, from whence he might receive the Petitions of his Subjects. And to this purpose several Packthreads were let down with small Weights at the bottom. On these Packthreads the

People strung their Petitions, which mounted up directly like the scraps of Paper fastned by School-boys at the end of the String that holds their Kite. Sometimes we received Wine and Victuals from below, which were drawn up by Pullys.

THE Knowledge I had in Mathematicks gave me great Assistance in acquiring their Phraseology, which depended much upon that Science and Musick; and in the latter I was not unskilled. Their Ideas are perpetually conversant in Lines and Figures. If they would, for Example, praise the beauty of a Woman or any other Animal, they describe it by Rhombs, Circles, Parallelograms, Ellipses, and other Geometrical Terms, or by words of Art drawn from Musick, needless here to repeat. I observed in the Kings Kitchen all sorts of Mathematical and Musical Instruments, after the Figures of which they cut up the Joynts that were served to his Majesties Table.

THEIR Houses are very ill built, the Walls Bevil, without one Right Angle in any Apartment, and this defect ariseth from the Contempt they bear to practical Geometry; which they despise as Vulgar and Mechanick, those Instructions they give being too refined for the Intellectuals of their Workmen, which occasions perpetual mistakes. And although they are dextrous enough upon a Piece of Paper in the management of the Rule, the Pencil and the Divider, yet in the common Actions and behaviour of Life, I have not seen a more clumsy, awkward, and unhandy People, nor so slow and perplexed in their Conceptions upon all other Subjects, except those of Mathematicks and

 Musick.

Musick. They are very bad Reasoners, and vehemently given to Opposition, unless when they happen to be of the right Opinion, which is seldom their case. Imagination, Fancy, and Invention, they are wholly strangers to, nor have any Words in their Language by which those Ideas can be expressed; the whole compass of their Thoughts and Mind being shut up within the two forementioned Sciences.

Most of them, and especially those who deal in the Astronomical Part, have great Faith in Judicial Astrology, although they are ashamed to own it publickly. But, what I chiefly admired, and thought altogether unaccountable, was the strong Disposition I observed in them towards News and Politicks, perpetually enquiring into Publick Affairs, giving their Judgments in matters of State; and passionately disputing every Inch of a Party Opinion. I have indeed observed the same Disposition among most of the Mathematicians I have known in *Europe*, although I could never discover the least Analogy between the two Sciences; unless those People suppose, that because the smallest Circle hath as many Degrees as the largest, therefore the Regulation and Management of the World require no more Abilities than the handling and turning of a Globe. But, I rather take this Quality to spring from a very common Infirmity of Human Nature, inclining us to be more curious and conceited in Matters where we have least Concern, and for which we are least adapted either by Study or Nature.

These People are under continual Disquietudes, never enjoying a Minute's Peace of Mind; and their

 Disturbances

Disturbances proceed from Causes which very little affect the rest of Mortals. Their Apprehensions arise from several Changes they dread in the Celestial Bodies. For Instance; that the Earth by the continual approaches of the Sun towards it, must in course of Time be absorbed or swallowed up. That the Face of the Sun will by Degrees be encrusted with its own Effluvia, and give no more Light to the World. That, the Earth very narrowly escaped a brush from the Tail of the last Comet, which would have infallibly reduced it to Ashes; and that the next, which they have calculated for one and Thirty Years hence, will probably destroy us. For, if in its Perihelion it should approach within a certain Degree of the Sun, (as by their Calculations they have reason to dread) it will receive a Degree of Heat ten Thousand times more intense than that of Red-hot glowing Iron; and in its Absence from the Sun, carry a Blazing Tail ten hundred Thousand and fourteen Miles long; through which if the Earth should pass at the distance of one Hundred Thousand Miles from the *Nucleus* or main Body of the Comet, it must in its Passage be set on Fire, and reduced to Ashes. That the Sun daily spending its Rays without any Nutriment to supply them, will at last be wholly consumed and annihilated; which must be attended with the Destruction of this Earth, and of all the Planets that receive their Light from it.

They are so perpetually alarmed with the Apprehensions of these and the like impending Dangers, that they can neither sleep quietly in their Beds, nor have any relish for the common Pleasures or Amusements

of Life. When they meet an Acquaintance in the Morning, the first Question is about the Suns Health, how he looked at his Setting and Rising, and what hopes they have to avoid the stroak of the approaching Comet. This Conversation they are apt to run into with the same Temper that Boys discover, in delighting to hear terrible stories of Spirits and Hobgoblins, which they greedily listen to, and dare not go to Bed for fear.

THE Women of the Island have abundance of Vivacity; they contemn their Husbands, and are exceedingly fond of Strangers, whereof there is always a considerable Number from the Continent below, attending at Court, either upon Affairs of the several Towns and Corporations, or their own particular Occasions, but are much despised, because they want the same Endowments. Among these the Ladies chuse their Gallants: But the Vexation is, that they act with too much Ease and Security, for the Husband is always so rapt in Speculation, that the Mistress and Lover may proceed to the greatest Familiarities before his Face, if he be but provided with Paper and Implements, and without his Flapper at his side.

THE Wives and Daughters lament their Confinement to the Island, although I think it the most delicious spot of Ground in the World; and although they live here in the greatest Plenty and Magnificence, and are allowed to do whatever they please, they long to see the World, and take the Diversions of the Metropolis, which they are not allowed to do without a

 particular

particular Licence from the King; and this is not easy to be obtained, because the People of Quality have found by frequent Experience, how hard it is to persuade their Women to return from below. I was told that a great Court Lady, who had several Children, is marryed to the Prime Minister, the richest Subject in the Kingdom, a very graceful Person, extremely fond of her, and lives in the finest Palace of the Island, went down to *Lagado*, on the Pretence of Health, there hid her self for several Months, till the King sent a Warrant to search for her, and she was found in an obscure Eating House all in Rags, having pawned her Cloths to maintain an old deformed Foot-man, who beat her every Day, and in whose Company she was taken much against her Will. And although her Husband received her with all possible Kindness, and without the least Reproach, she soon after contrived to steal down again with all her Jewels, to the same Gallant, and hath not been heard of since.

This may perhaps pass with the Reader rather for an *European* or *English* Story, than for one of a Country so remote. But he may please to consider, that the Caprices of Womenkind are not limited by any Climate or Nation, and that they are much more uniform than can be easily imagined.

In about a Months time I had made a tolerable proficiency in their Language, and was able to answer most of the Kings Questions, when I had the Honour to attend him. His Majesty discovered not the least Curiosity to enquire into the Laws, Government,

History, Religion, or Manners of the Countries where I had been, but confined his Questions to the state of Mathematicks, and received the Account I gave him, with great Contempt and Indifference, though often roused by his *Flapper* on each side,

CHAP. III

A Phænomenon solved by modern Philosophy and Astronomy. The Laputians *great Improvements in the latter. The Kings method of suppressing Insurrections.*

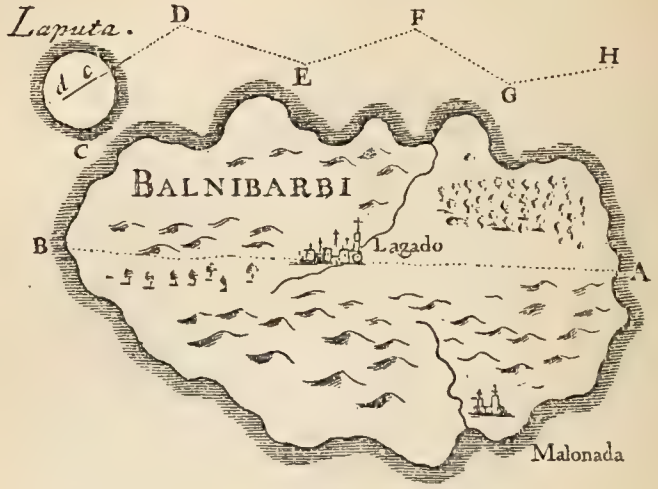
I Desired leave of this Prince to see the Curiosities of the Island, which he was graciously pleased to grant, and ordered my Tutor to attend me. I chiefly wanted to know to what Cause in Art or in Nature, it owed its several Motions, whereof I will now give a Philosophical Account to the Reader.

The Flying or Floating Island is exactly circular, its diameter 7837 Yards, or about four Miles and an Half, and consequently contains ten Thousand Acres. It is three Hundred Yards thick. The bottom or under Surface, which appears to those who view it below, is one even regular Plate of Adamant, shooting up to the Height of about two Hundred Yards. Above it lye the several Minerals in their usual order, and over all is a Coat of rich Mould ten or twelve Foot deep. The Declivity of the upper Surface, from the Circumference to the Center, is the natural Cause why all the Dews and Rains which fall upon the Island, are conveyed in small Rivulets toward the middle, where they are emptyed into four large Basons, each of about half a Mile in Circuit, and two Hundred Yards distant from the Center. From these Basons the Water is continually exhaled by the Sun in the Day time, which

 effectually

effectually prevents their overflowing. Besides, as it is in the Power of the Monarch to raise the Island above the Region of Clouds and Vapours, he can prevent the falling of Dews and Rains when ever he pleases. For the highest Clouds cannot rise above two Miles, as Naturalists agree, at least they were never known to do in that Country.

AT the Center of the Island there is a Chasm about fifty Yards in Diameter, from whence the Astronomers descend into a large Dome, which is therefore called *Flandona Gagnole*, or the *Astronomers Cave*, scituated at the Depth of an Hundred Yards beneath the upper Surface of the Adamant. In this Cave are twenty Lamps continually burning, which from the Reflection of the Adamant cast a strong Light into every Part. The place is stored with great variety of Sextants, Quadrants, Telescopes, Astrolabes, and other Astronomical Instruments. But the greatest Curiosity, upon which the Fate of the Island depends, is a Load-stone of a prodigious size, in shape resembling a Weavers Shuttle. It is in length six Yards, and in the thickest part at least three Yards over. This Magnet is sustained by a very strong Axle of Adamant passing through its middle, upon which it plays, and is poized so exactly that the weakest Hand can turn it. It is hooped round with an hollow Cylinder of Adamant, four Foot deep, as many thick, and twelve Yards in Diameter, placed Horizontally, and supported by eight Adamantine Feet, each six Yards high. In the middle of the Concave side there is a Groove twelve Inches deep, in which the Extremities of the Axle are lodged, and turned round as there is occasion.


Laputa.
D
F
H
E
G
C
BALNIBARBI
B
Lagado
A
Malonada

THE Stone cannot be moved from its Place by any Force, because the Hoop and its Feet are one continued Piece with that Body of Adamant which constitutes the bottom of the Island.

BY means of this Load-stone, the Island is made to rise and fall, and move from one place to another. For, with respect to that part of the Earth over which the Monarch presides, the Stone is endued at one of its sides with an attractive Power, and at the other with a repulsive. Upon placing the Magnet erect with its attracting End towards the Earth, the Island descends; but when the repelling Extremity points downwards, the Island mounts directly upwards. When the Position of the Stone is oblique, the Motion of the Island is so too. For in this Magnet the Forces always act in Lines parallel to its Direction.

BY this oblique Motion, the Island is conveyed to different Parts of the Monarchs Dominions. To explain the manner of its Progress, let *A B* represent a line drawn cross the Dominions of *Balnibarbi*, let the Line *c d* represent the Load-stone, of which let *d* be the repelling end, and *c* the attracting end, the Island being over *C*; let the Stone be placed in the position *c d* with its repelling end downwards; then the Island will be driven upwards obliquely towards *D*. When it is arrived at *D*, let the stone be turned upon its Axle till its attracting end points towards *E*, and then the Island will be carried obliquely towards *E*; where if the stone be again turned upon its Axle till it stands in the position *E F*, with its repelling Point downwards, the Island will rise obliquely towards *F*, where by

 directing

directing the attracting end towards *G*, the Island may be carried to *G*, and from *G* to *H*, by turning the Stone, so as to make its repelling Extremity to point directly downwards. And thus by changing the Scituation of the Stone as often as there is occasion, the Island is made to rise and fall by turns in an oblique Direction, and by those alternate Risings and Fallings (the Obliquity being not considerable) is conveyed from one part of the Dominions to the other.

But it must be observed, that this Island cannot move beyond the extent of the Dominions below, nor can it rise above the height of four Miles. For which the Astronomers (who have written large Systems concerning the Stone) assign the following Reason: That the Magnetick Virtue does not extend beyond the distance of four Miles, and that the Mineral which acts upon the Stone in the Bowels of the Earth, and in the Sea about six Leagues distant from the Shoar, is not diffused through the whole Globe, but terminated with the Limits of the Kings Dominions; and it was easy from the great Advantage of such a superior Scituation, for a Prince to bring under his Obedience whatever Country lay within the Attraction of that Magnet.

When the Stone is put parallel to the Plane of the Horizon, the Island standeth still; for in that Case, the Extremities of it being at equal distance from the Earth, act with equal Force, the one in drawing downwards, the other in pushing upwards, and consequently no Motion can ensue.

THIS Load-stone is under the Care of certain Astronomers, who from time to time give it such Positions as the Monarch directs. They spend the greatest part of their Lives in observing the celestial Bodies, which they do by the Assistance of Glasses far excelling ours in Goodness. For this Advantage hath enabled them to extend the Discoveries much further than our Astronomers in *Europe*; for they have made a Catalogue of ten thousand fixed Stars, whereas the largest of ours do not contain above one third Part of that Number. They have likewise discovered two lesser Stars, or *Satellites*, which revolve about *Mars*, whereof the innermost is distant from the Center of the primary Planet exactly three of his Diameters, and the outermost five; the former revolves in the space of ten Hours, and the latter in twenty one and an half; so that the Squares of their Periodical Times are very near in the same Proportion with the Cubes of their distance from the Center of *Mars*, which evidently shews them to be governed by the same Law of Gravitation, that influences the other Heavenly Bodies.

THEY have observed ninety-three different Comets, and settled their Periods with great Exactness. If this be true, (and they affirm it with great Confidence) it is much to be wished that their Observations were made publick, whereby the Theory of Comets, which at present is very lame and defective, might be brought to the same Perfection with other parts of Astronomy.

THE King would be the most absolute Prince in the Universe, if he could but prevail on a Ministry to join with him; but these having their Estates below on the

 Continent,

Continent, and considering that the Office of a Favourite hath a very uncertain Tenure, would never consent to the enslaving their Country.

IF any Town should engage in Rebellion or Mutiny, fall into violent Factions, or refuse to pay the usual Tribute, the King hath two Methods of reducing them to Obedience. The first and the mildest Course is by keeping the Island hovering over such a Town, and the Lands about it, whereby he can deprive them of the Benefit of the Sun and the Rain, and consequently afflict the Inhabitants with Death and Diseases. And if the Crime deserve it, they are at the same time pelted from above with great Stones, against which they have no Defence but by creeping into Cellars or Caves, while the Roofs of their Houses are beaten to pieces. But if they still continue obstinate, or offer to raise Insurrections, he proceeds to the last Remedy, by letting the Island drop directly upon their Heads, which makes a universal Destruction both of Houses and Men. However, this is an Extremity to which the Prince is seldom driven, neither indeed is he willing to put it in Execution, nor dare his Ministers advise him to an Action, which as it would render them odious to the People, so it would be a great Damage to their own Estates, which lie all below, for the Island is the Kings Demesn.

BUT there is still indeed a more weighty Reason, why the Kings of this Country have been always averse from executing so terrible an Action, unless upon the utmost Necessity. For if the Town intended to be destroyed should have in it any tall Rocks, as it

generally falls out in the larger Cities, a Scituation probably chosen at first with a View to prevent such a Catastrophe; or if it abound in high Spires or Pillars of Stone, a sudden Fall might endanger the Bottom or under Surface of the Island, which although it consist as I have said of one entire Adamant two hundred Yards thick, might happen to crack by too great a Choque, or burst by approaching too near the Fires from the Houses below, as the Backs both of Iron and Stone will often do in our Chimneys. Of all this the People are well apprized, and understand how far to carry their Obstinacy, where their Liberty or Property is concerned. And the King, when he is highest provoked, and most determined to press a City to Rubbish, orders the Island to descend with great gentleness, out of a Pretence of Tenderness to his People, but indeed for fear of breaking the Adamantine Bottom; in which Case it is the Opinion of all their Philosophers, that the Load-stone could no longer hold it up, and the whole Mass would fall to the Ground.

By a fundamental Law of this Realm, neither the King nor either of his two elder Sons are permitted to leave the Island, nor the Queen, till she is past Child-bearing.

CHAP. IV

The Author leaves Laputa, *is conveyed to* Balnibarbi, *arrives at the Metropolis. A Description of the Metropolis, and the Country adjoining. The Author hospitably received by a great Lord. His Conversation with that Lord.*

ALTHOUGH I cannot say that I was ill treated in this Island, yet I must confess I thought my self too much neglected, not without some degree of Contempt. For neither Prince nor People appeared to be curious in any part of Knowledge, except Mathematicks and Musick, wherein I was far their inferior, and upon that account very little regarded.

On the other side, after having seen all the Curiosities of the Island, I was very desirous to leave it, being heartily weary of those People. They were indeed excellent in two Sciences for which I have great Esteem, and wherein I am not unversed, but at the same time so abstracted and involved in Speculation, that I never met with such disagreeable Companions. I convers'd only with Women, Tradesmen, *Flappers*, and Court-Pages during two Months of my Abode here, by which at last I render'd myself extremely contemptible, yet these were the only People from whom I could ever receive a reasonable Answer.

I had obtained by hard Study a good degree of Knowledge in their Language; I was weary of being

 confined

confined to an Island where I received so little Countenance, and resolved to leave it with the first Opportunity.

THERE was a great Lord at Court, nearly related to the King, and for that reason alone used with Respect. He was universally reckoned the most Ignorant and stupid Person among them. He had performed many eminent Services for the Crown, had great natural and acquired Parts, adorned with Integrity and Honour, but so ill an Ear for Musick, that his Detractors reported he had been often known to beat Time in the wrong Place; neither could his Tutors without extreme difficulty teach him to demonstrate the most easy Proposition in the Mathematicks. He was pleased to shew me many Marks of Favour, often did me the Honour of a Visit, desired to be informed in the Affairs of *Europe*, the Laws and Customs, the Manners and Learning of the several Countrys where I had travelled. He listened to me with great Attention, and made very wise Observations on all I spoke. He had two *Flappers* attending him for State, but never made use of them except at Court, and in Visits of Ceremony, and would always command them to withdraw when we were alone together.

I intreated this Illustrious Person to intercede in my behalf with his Majesty for leave to depart, which he accordingly did, as he was pleased to tell me, with Regret: For, indeed he had made me several Offers very Advantageous, which however I refused with Expressions of the highest Acknowledgment.

ON the 16th day of *February*, I took leave of His Majesty and the Court. The King made me a Present to the value of about two Hundred Pounds *English*, and my Protector his Kinsman as much more, together with a Letter of Recommendation to a Friend of his in *Lagado*, the Metropolis; The Island being then hovering over a Mountain about two Miles from it, I was let down from the lowest Gallery, in the same manner as I had been taken up.

THE Continent, as far as it is subject to the Monarch of the *Flying Island*, passes under the general Name of *Balnibarbi*, and the Metropolis, as I said before, is called *Lagado*. I felt some little Satisfaction in finding my self on firm Ground. I walked to the City without any concern, being clad like one of the Natives, and sufficiently instructed to converse with them. I soon found out the Persons House to whom I was recommended, presented my Letter from his Friend the Grandee in the Island, and was received with much Kindness. This great Lord, whose name was *Munodi*, ordered me an Apartment in his own House, where I continued during my stay, and was entertained in a most hospitable Manner.

THE next Morning after my Arrival he took me in his Chariot to see the Town, which is about half the bigness of *London*, but the Houses very strangely Built, and most of them out of Repair. The People in the Streets walked fast, looked wild, their Eyes fixed, and were generally in Rags. We passed through one of the Town-Gates, and went about three Miles into the Country, where I saw many Labourers working with

several sorts of Tools in the Ground, but was not able to conjecture what they were about; neither did I observe any expectation either of Corn or Grass, although the Soil appeared to be excellent. I could not forbear admiring at these odd Appearances both in Town and Country, and I made bold to desire my Conductor, that he would be pleased to explain to me what could be meant by so many busy Heads, Hands, and Faces, both in the Streets and the Fields, because I did not discover any good Effects they produced; but on the contrary, I never knew a Soil so unhappily cultivated, Houses so ill contrived and so ruinous, or a People whose Countenances and Habit expressed so much Misery and Want.

THIS Lord *Munodi* was a Person of the first Rank, and had been some Years Governor of *Lagado*, but by a Cabal of Ministers was discharged for Insufficiency. However the King treated him with Tenderness, as a well-meaning Man, but of a low contemptible Understanding.

WHEN I gave that free Censure of the Country and its Inhabitants, he made no further Answer than by telling me, that I had not been long enough among them to form a Judgment; and that the different Nations of the World had different Customs, with other common Topicks to the same Purpose. But when we returned to his Palace, he asked me how I liked the Building, what Absurdities I observed, and what Quarrel I had with the Dress and Looks of his Domesticks. This he might safely do, because every thing about him was Magnificent, Regular and Polite. I

answered that his Excellencies Prudence, Quality, and Fortune, had exempted him from those defects, which Folly and Beggary had produced in others. He said if I would go with him to his Country House, about twenty Miles distant, where his Estate lay, there would be more leisure for this kind of Conversation. I told his Excellency that I was entirely at his Disposal, and accordingly we set out next Morning.

During our Journey, he made me observe the several Methods used by Farmers in managing their Lands, which to me were wholly unaccountable, for except in some very few Places, I could not discover one Ear of Corn or Blade of Grass. But, in three Hours travelling, the Scene was wholly altered; we came into a most beautiful Country; Farmers Houses at small distances, neatly built, the Fields enclosed, containing Vineyards, Corn-grounds and Meadows. Neither do I remember to have seen a more delightful Prospect. His Excellency observed my Countenance to clear up; he told me with a Sigh, that there his Estate began, and would continue the same till we should come to his House. That his Countrymen ridiculed and despis'd Him for managing his Affairs no better, and for setting so ill an Example to the Kingdom, which however was followed by very few, such as were old and wilful, and weak like himself.

We came at length to the House, which was indeed a noble Structure, built according to the best Rules of Ancient Architecture. The Fountains, Gardens, Walks, Avenues, and Groves were all disposed with exact Judgment and Taste. I gave due Praises to every thing

I saw, whereof his Excellency took not the least Notice till after Supper, when, there being no third Companion, he told me with a very melancholy Air, that he doubted he must throw down his Houses in Town and Country, to rebuild them after the present Mode, destroy all his Plantations, and cast others in such a Form as modern Usage required, and give the same Directions to all his Tenants, unless he would submit to incur the Censure of Pride, Singularity, Affectation, Ignorance, Caprice, and perhaps encrease His Majesties Displeasure.

That the Admiration I appeared to be under, would cease or diminish when he had informed me of some Particulars, which probably I never heard of at Court, the People there being too much taken up in their own Speculations, to have regard to what passed here below.

The Sum of his Discourse was to this Effect. That about Fourty Years ago, certain Persons went up to *Laputa* either upon Business or Diversion, and after five Months continuance came back with a very little smattering in Mathematicks, but full of Volatile Spirits acquired in that Airy Region. That these Persons upon their Return began to dislike the Management of every thing below, and fell into Schemes of putting all Arts, Sciences, Languages, and Mechanicks upon a new Foot. To this End they procured a Royal Patent for erecting an Academy of Projectors in *Lagado*; And the Humour prevailed so strongly among the People, that there is not a Town of any Consequence in the Kingdom without such an Academy.

In these Colledges, the Professors contrive new Rules and Methods of Agriculture and Building, and new Instruments and Tools for all Trades and Manufactures, whereby, as they undertake, one Man shall do the work of Ten; a Palace may be built in a Week, of Materials so durable as to last for ever without repairing. All the Fruits of the Earth shall come to Maturity at whatever Season we think fit to chuse, and increase an Hundred Fold more than they do at present, with innumerable other happy Proposals. The only Inconvenience is, that none of these Projects are yet brought to Perfection, and in the mean time the whole Country lies miserably wast, the Houses in Ruins, and the People without Food or Cloths. By all which, instead of being discouraged, they are fifty times more violently bent upon prosecuting their Schemes, driven equally on by Hope and Despair; That as for himself, being not of an Enterprizing Spirit, he was content to go on in the old Forms, to live in the Houses his Ancestors had built, and Act as they did in every part of Life without Innovation. That, some few other Persons of Quality and Gentry had done the same, but were looked on with an Eye of Contempt and Ill Will, as Enemies to Art, ignorant, and ill Commonwealths-men, preferring their own Ease and Sloth before the general Improvement of their Country.

His Lordship added, that he would not by any further Particulars prevent the Pleasure I should certainly take in viewing the Grand Academy, whither he was resolved I should go. He only desired me to observe a ruined Building upon the side of a Mountain about three Miles distant, of which he gave me this

 Account.

Account. That he had a very convenient Mill within half a Mile of his House, turned by a Current from a large River and sufficient for his own Family as well as a great number of his Tenants. That, about seven Years ago, a Club of those Projectors came to him with Proposals to destroy this Mill, and build another on the side of that Mountain, on the long Ridge whereof a long Canal must be cut for a Repository of Water, to be conveyed up by Pipes and Engines to supply the Mill: Because the Wind and Air upon a Height agitated the Water, and thereby made it fitter for Motion: And because the Water descending down a Declivity would turn the Mill with half the Current of a River whose Course is more upon a Level. He said, that being then not very well with the Court, and pressed by many of his Friends, he complyed with the Proposal; and after employing an Hundred Men for two Years, the Work miscarryed, the Projectors went off, laying the blame entirely upon him, railing at him ever since, and putting others upon the same Experiment, with equal Assurance of Success, as well as equal Disappointment.

In a few Days we came back to Town, and his Excellency, considering the bad Character he had in the Academy, would not go with me himself, but recommended me to a Friend of his to bear me Company thither. My Lord was pleased to represent me as a great Admirer of Projects, and a Person of much Curiosity and easy Belief, which, indeed was not without Truth, for I had my self been a sort of Projector in my younger Days.

CHAP. V

The Author permitted to see the grand Academy of Lagado. *The Academy largely described. The Arts wherein the Professors employ themselves.*

THIS Academy is not an entire single Building, but a Continuation of several Houses on both sides of a Street, which growing wast was purchased and applyed to that Use.

I was received very kindly by the Warden, and went for many Days to the Academy. Every Room hath in it one or more Projectors, and I believe I could not be in fewer than five Hundred Rooms.

THE first Man I saw was of a meager Aspect, with sooty Hands and Face, his Hair and Beard long, ragged and singed in several places. His Cloths, Shirt, and Skin were all of the same Colour. He had been eight Years upon a Project for extracting Sun-Beams out of Cucumbers, which were to be put into Vials hermetically sealed, and let out to Warm the Air in raw inclement Summers. He told me, he did not doubt, in eight Years more, he should be able to supply the Governors Gardens with Sun-shine at a reasonable Rate; but he complained that his Stock was low, and entreated me to give him something as an Encouragement to Ingenuity, especially since this

had

had been a very dear Season for Cucumbers. I made him a small Present, for my Lord had furnished me with Money on purpose, because he knew their Practice of begging from all who go to see them.

I went into another Chamber, but was ready to hasten back, being almost overcome with a horrible stink. My Conductor pressed me forward, conjuring me in a Whisper to give no offence, which would be highly resented, and therefore I durst not so much as stop my Nose. The Projector of this Cell was the most Ancient Student of the Academy. His Face and Beard were of a pale Yellow; his Hands and Cloths dawbed over with Filth. When I was presented to him, he gave me a close Embrace, (a Compliment I could well have excused.) His Employment from his first coming into the Academy was an Operation to reduce human Excrement to its original Food, by separating the several Parts, removing the Tincture which it receives from the Gall, making the Odour exhale, and scumming off the Saliva. He had a weekly Allowance from the Society of a Vessel filled with Human Ordure, about the bigness of a *Bristol* Barrel.

I saw another at work to calcine Ice into Gun-Powder, who likewise shewed me a Treatise he had written concerning the Malleability of Fire, which he intended to publish.

THERE was a most ingenious Architect who had contrived a new Method for building Houses, by beginning at the Roof and working downwards to the Foundation, which he justified to me by the like

Practice of those two prudent Insects the Bee and the Spider.

THERE was a Man born blind, who had several Apprentices in his own Condition: Their Employment was to mix Colours for Painters, which their Master taught them to distinguish by feeling and smelling. It was indeed my Misfortune to find them at that time not very perfect in their Lessons, and the Professor himself happened to be generally mistaken: This Artist is much encouraged and esteemed by the whole Fraternity.

IN another Apartment I was highly pleased with a Projector, who had found a Device of Plowing the Ground with Hogs, to save the Charges of Plows, Cattle, and Labour. The Method is this; In an Acre of Ground you bury at six Inches distance, and eight deep, a quantity of Acorns, Dates, Chesnuts, and other Maste or Vegetables whereof these Animals are fondest: then you drive six hundred or more of them into the Field, where in a few Days they will root up the whole Ground in search of their Food, and make it fit for Sowing, at the same time manuring it with their Dung; it is true upon Experiment they found the Charge and Trouble very great, and they had little or no Crop. However, it is not doubted that this Invention may be capable of great Improvement.

I went into another Room, where the Walls and Ceiling were all hung round with Cobwebs, except a narrow Passage for the Artist to go in and out. At my Entrance he called aloud to me not to disturb his

 Webs.

Webs. He lamented the fatal Mistake the World had been so long in of using Silk-Worms, while we had such plenty of Domestick Insects, who infinitely excelled the former, because they understood how to weave as well as spin. And he proposed farther, that by employing Spiders, the Charge of dying Silks should be wholly saved, whereof I was fully convinced when he shewed me a vast number of Flies most beautifully coloured, wherewith he fed his Spiders, assuring us, that the Webs would take a Tincture from them; and as he had them of all Hues, he hoped to fit every body's Fancy, as soon as he could find proper Food for the Flys of certain Gums, Oyls, and other glutinous Matter to give a Strength and Consistence to the Threads.

THERE was an Astronomer who had undertaken to place a Sun-Dial upon the great Weather-cock on the Town-House, by adjusting the annual and diurnal Motions of the Earth and Sun, so as to answer and coincide with all accidental Turnings by the Wind.

I was complaining of a small Fit of the Cholick, upon which my Conductor led me into a Room, where a great Physician resided, who was famous for curing that Disease by contrary Operations from the same Instrument. He had a large pair of Bellows with a long slender Muzzle of Ivory. This he conveyed eight inches up the Anus, and drawing in the Wind, he affirmed he could make the Guts as lank as a dried Bladder. But when the Disease was more stubborn and violent, he let in the Muzzle while the Bellows were full of Wind, which he discharged into the Body

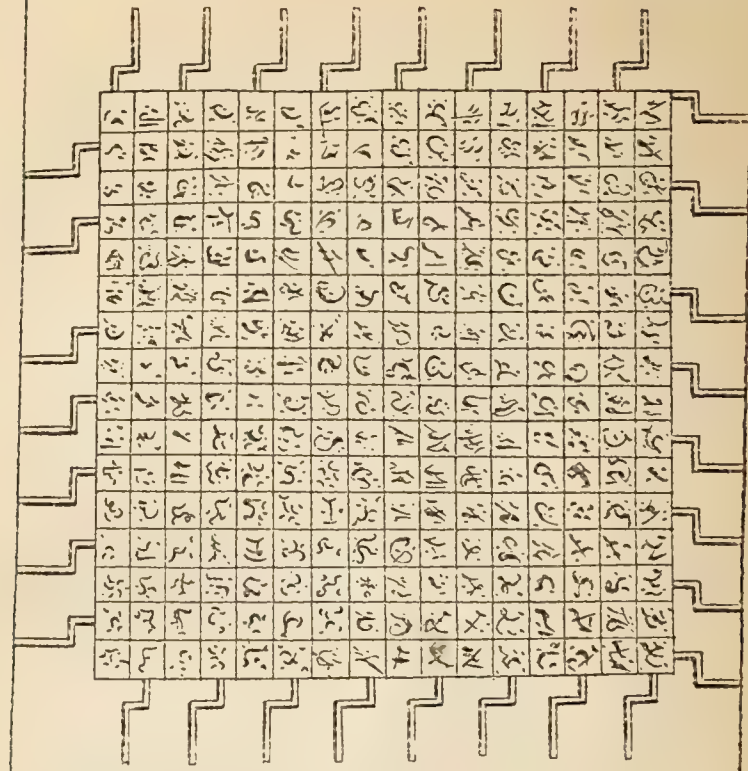
 of

of the Patient, then withdrew the Instrument to replenish it, clapping his Thumb strongly against the Orifice of the Fundament; and this being repeated three or four times, the adventitious Wind would rush out, bringing the noxious along with it (like Water put into a Pump) and the Patient recover. I saw him try both Experiments upon a Dog, but could not discern any Effect from the former. After the latter, the Animal was ready to burst, and made so violent a Discharge, as was very offensive to me and my Companions. The Dog died on the Spot, and we left the Doctor endeavouring to recover him by the same Operation.

I visited many other Apartments, but shall not trouble my Reader with all the Curiosities I observed, being studious of Brevity.

I had hitherto seen only one side of the Academy, the other being appropriated to the Advancers of speculative Learning, of whom I shall say something when I have mentioned one illustrious Person more, who is called among *them the universal Artist.* He told us he had been thirty Years employing his Thoughts for the Improvement of human Life. He had two large Rooms full of wonderful Curiosities, and fifty Men at work. Some were condensing Air into a dry tangible Substance, by extracting the Nitre, and letting the Aqueous or fluid Particles percolate; others softening Marble for Pillows and Pin-cushions; others petrifying the Hoofs of a living Horse to preserve them from foundring. The Artist himself was at that time busy upon two great Designs; the first to sow Land with

 Chaff,



Chaff, wherein he affirmed the true seminal Virtue to be contained, as he demonstrated by several Experiments which I was not skilful enough to comprehend. The other was, by a certain Composition of Gums, Minerals, and Vegetables outwardly applied, to prevent the Growth of Wool upon two young Lambs; and he hoped in a reasonable time to propagate the Breed of naked Sheep all over the Kingdom.

We crossed a Walk to the other part of the Academy, where, as I have already said, the Projector in speculative Learning resided.

The first Professor I saw was in a very large Room, with forty Pupils about him. After Salutation, observing me to look earnestly upon a Frame, which took up the greatest part of both the Length and Breadth of the Room, he said perhaps I might wonder to see him employed in a Project for improving speculative Knowledge by practical and mechanical Operations. But the World would soon be sensible of its Usefulness, and he flattered himself that a more noble exalted Thought never sprung in any other Man's Head. Every one knew how laborious the usual Method is of attaining to Arts and Sciences; whereas by his Contrivance, the most ignorant Person at a reasonable Charge, and with a little bodily Labour, may write both in Philosophy, Poetry, Politicks, Law, Mathematicks and Theology, without the least Assistance from Genius or Study. He then led me to the Frame, about the sides whereof all his Pupils stood in Ranks. It was twenty Foot Square, placed in the middle of the Room. The Superficies was composed

 of

of several bits of Wood, about the bigness of a Dye, but some larger than others. They were all linked together by slender Wires. These bits of Wood were covered on every Square with Paper pasted on them, and on these Papers were written all the Words of their Language in their several Moods, Tenses, and Declensions, but without any Order. The Professor then desired me to observe, for he was going to set his Engine at Work. The Pupils at his Command took each of them hold of an Iron Handle, whereof there were fourty fixed round the Edges of the Frame, and giving them a sudden turn, the whole Disposition of the Words was entirely changed. He then commanded six and thirty of the Lads to read the several Lines softly as they appeared upon the Frame; and where they found three or four Words together that might make part of a Sentence, they dictated to the four remaining Boys who were Scribes. This Work was repeated three or four times, and at every turn the Engine was so contrived, that the Words shifted into new places, or the square bits of Wood moved upside down.

Six Hours a-day the young Students were employed in this Labour, and the Professor shewed me several Volumes in large Folio already collected, of broken Sentences, which he intended to piece together, and out of those rich Materials to give the World a compleat Body of all Arts and Sciences; which however might be still improved, and much expedited, if the Publick would raise a Fund for making and employing five hundred such Frames in *Lagado*, and oblige the Managers to contribute in common their several Collections.

He assured me, that this Invention had employed all his Thoughts from his Youth, that he had employed the whole Vocabulary into his Frame, and made the strictest Computation of the general Proportion there is in the Book between the Numbers of Particles, Nouns, and Verbs, and other Parts of Speech.

I made my humblest Acknowledgment to this illustrious Person for his great Communicativeness, and promised if ever I had the good Fortune to return to my Native Country, that I would do him Justice, as the sole Inventer of this wonderful Machine; the Form and Contrivance of which I desired leave to delineate upon Paper as in the Figure here annexed. I told him, although it were the Custom of our Learned in *Europe* to steal Inventions from each other, who had thereby at least this Advantage, that it became a Controversy which was the right Owner, yet I would take such Caution, that he should have the Honour entire without a Rival.

We next went to the School of Language, where three Professors sate in Consultation upon improving that of their own Country.

The first Project was to shorten Discourse by cutting Polysyllables into one, and leaving out Verbs and Participles, because in reality all things imaginable are but Nouns.

The other was a Scheme for entirely abolishing all Words whatsoever; and this was urged as a great Advantage in point of Health as well as Brevity. For,

it is plain, that every Word we speak is in some Degree a Diminution of our Lungs by Corrosion, and consequently contributes to the shortning of our Lives. An Expedient was therefore offered, that since Words are only Names for *Things*, it would be more convenient for all Men to carry about them, such *Things* as were necessary to express the particular Business they are to discourse on. And this Invention would certainly have taken Place, to the great Ease as well as Health of the Subject, if the Women in conjunction with the Vulgar and Illiterate had not threatned to raise a Rebellion, unless they might be allowed the Liberty to speak with their Tongues, after the manner of their Ancestors; Such constant irreconcilable Enemies to Science are the Common People. However, many of the most Learned and Wise adhere to the New Scheme of expressing themselves by *Things*, which hath only this Inconvenience attending it, that if a Mans Business be very great, and of various kinds, he must be obliged in Proportion to carry a greater bundle of *Things* upon his Back, unless he can afford one or two strong Servants to attend him. I have often beheld two of those Sages almost sinking under the Weight of their Packs, like Pedlers among us; who when they met in the Streets would lay down their Loads, open their Saddles and hold Conversation for an Hour together; then put up their Implements, help each other to resume their Burthens, and take their Leave.

But for short Conversations a Man may carry Implements in his Pockets and under his Arms, enough to supply him, and in his House he cannot be at a loss; Therefore the Room where Company meet who

practice this Art, is full of all *Things* ready at Hand, requisite to furnish Matter for this kind of Artificial Converse.

ANOTHER great Advantage proposed by this Invention, was that it would serve as an Universal Language to be understood in all civilized Nations, whose Goods and Utensils are generally of the same kind, or nearly resembling, so that their Uses might easily be comprehended. And the Embassadors would be qualified to treat with foreign Princes or Ministers of State to whose Tongues they were utter Strangers.

I was at the Mathematical School, where the Master taught his Pupils after a method scarce imaginable to us in *Europe*. The Proposition and Demonstration were fairly written on a thin Wafer, with Ink composed of a Cephalick Tincture. This the Student was to swallow upon a fasting Stomach, and for three Days following eat nothing but Bread and Water. As the Wafer digested, the Tincture mounted to his Brain, bearing the Proposition along with it. But the Success hath not hitherto been answerable, partly by some Error in the *Quantum* or Composition, and partly by the Perverseness of Lads, to whom this Bolus is so nauseous that they generally steal aside, and discharge it upwards before it can operate, neither have they been yet persuaded to use so long an Abstinence as the Prescription requires.

CHAP. VI

A further Account of the Academy. The Author proposes some Improvements which are honourably received.

IN the School of Political Projectors I was but ill entertained, the Professors appearing in my Judgment wholly out of their Senses, which is a Scene that never fails to make me melancholy. These unhappy People were proposing Schemes for persuading Monarchs to chuse Favourites upon the Score of their Wisdom, Capacity and Virtue; of teaching Ministers to consult the Publick Good; of rewarding Merit, great Abilities and eminent Services; of instructing Princes to know their true Interest by placing it on the same Foundation with that of their People: Of chusing for Employments Persons qualified to exercise them; with many other wild impossible Chimæras, that never entred before into the heart of Man to conceive, and confirmed in me the old Observation, that there is nothing so extravagant and irrational which some Philosophers have not maintained for Truth.

BUT, however I shall so far do Justice to this Part of the Academy, as to acknowledge that all of them were not so visionary. There was a most Ingenious Doctor who seemed to be perfectly versed in the whole Nature and System of Government. This illustrious Person had very usefully employed his Studies in

 finding

finding out effectual Remedys for all Diseases and Corruptions, to which the several kinds of publick Administration are subject by the Vices or Infirmities of those who govern, as well as by the Licentiousness of those who are to obey. For instance; Whereas all Writers and Reasoners have agreed, that there is a strict universal Resemblance between the Natural and the Political Body; can there be any thing more evident, than that the health of both must be preserved, and the Diseases cured by the same Prescription? It is allowed, that Senates and great Councils are often troubled with redundant, ebullient, and other peccant Humours, with many Diseases of the Head, and more of the Heart; with strong Convulsions, with grievous Contractions of the Nerves and Sinews in both Hands, but especially the Right: With Spleen, Flatus, Vertigos and Deliriums; with Scrophulous Tumours full of fætid purulent Matter; with sower frothy Ructations, with Canine Appetites and crudeness of Digestion, besides many others needless to mention. This Doctor therefore proposed, that upon the meeting of a Senate, certain Physicians should attend at the three first Days of their sitting, and at the Close of each days Debate, feel the Pulses of every Senator; after which having maturely considered, and consulted upon the Nature of the several Maladies, and the method of Cure, they should on the fourth Day return to the Senate House, attended by their Apothecaries stored with proper Medicines, and before the Members sate, administer to each of them Lenitives, Aperitives, Abstersives, Corrosives, Restringents, Palliatives, Laxatives, Cephalalgicks, Ictericks, Apophlegmaticks, Acousticks, as their several cases required,

and according as these Medicines should operate, repeat, alter, or omit them at the next Meeting.

THIS Project could not be of any great Expence to the Publick, and would in my poor opinion, be of much Use for the Dispatch of Business in those Countries where Senates have any share in the Legislative Power, beget Unanimity, shorten Debates, open a few Mouths which are now closed, and close many more which are now open; curb the Petulancy of the Young, and correct the Positiveness of the Old; rouze the Stupid, and damp the Pert.

AGAIN, Because it is a general Complaint that the Favourites of Princes are troubled with short and weak Memories; the same Doctor proposed, that whoever attended a First Minister, after having told his business with the utmost Brevity, and in the plainest Words; should at his Departure give the said Minister a Tweak by the Nose, or a kick in the Belly, or tread on his Corns, or lug him thrice by both Ears, or run a Pin into his Breech, or pinch his Arm black and blew, to prevent Forgetfulness: and at every Levee Day repeat the same Operation, till the Business were done or absolutely refused.

HE likewise directed, that every Senator in the great Council of a Nation, after he had delivered his Opinion, and argued in the Defence of it, should be obliged to give his Vote directly contrary; because if that were done, the Result would infallibly terminate in the Good of the Publick.

WHEN Parties in a State are violent, he offered a wonderful Contrivance to reconcile them. The Method is this. You take an Hundred Leaders of each Party, you dispose of them into Couples of such whose Heads are nearest of a size; then let two nice Operators saw off the *Occiput* of each Couple at the same time, in such a manner that the Brain may be equally divided. Let the *Occiputs* thus cut off be interchanged, applying each to the Head of his opposite Party-man. It seems indeed to be a Work that requireth some exactness, but the Professor assured us, that if it were dextrously performed, the Cure would be infallible. For he argued thus; that the two half Brains being left to debate the Matter between themselves within the space of one Scull, would soon come to a good Understanding, and produce that Moderation as well as Regularity of thinking, so much to be wished for in the Heads of those, who imagine they come into the World only to watch and govern its Motion: And as to the difference of Brains in Quantity or Quality, among those who are directors in Faction; the Doctor assured us from his own knowledge, that it was a perfect Trifle.

I heard a very warm Debate between two Professors, about the most commodious and effectual ways and means of raising Money without grieving the Subject. The first affirmed the justest Method would be to lay a certain Tax upon Vices and Folly, and the Sum fixed upon every Man, to be rated after the fairest manner by a Jury of his Neighbours. The second was of an Opinion directly contrary, to tax those Qualities of Body and Mind for which Men chiefly valuc them-

selves,

selves, the Rate to be more or less according to the Degrees of excelling, the Decision whereof should be left entirely to their own Breast. The highest Tax was upon Men, who are the greatest Favourites of the other Sex, and the Assessments according to the Number and Natures of the Favours they have received; for which they are allowed to be their own Vouchers. Wit, Valour, and Politeness were likewise proposed to be largely Taxed, and collected in the same manner, by every Persons giving his own Word for the Quantum of what he possessed. But as to Honour, Justice, Wisdom and Learning, they should not be taxed at all, because they are Qualifications of so singular a kind, that no Man will either allow them in his Neighbour, or value them in himself.

The Women were proposed to be taxed according to their Beauty and skill in Dressing, wherein they had the same Priviledge with the Men, to be determined by their own Judgment. But Constancy, Chastity, good Sense, and good Nature were not rated, because they would not bear the Charge of Collecting.

To keep Senators in the Interest of the Crown, it was proposed that the Members should raffle for Employments, every Man first taking an Oath, and giving Security that he would Vote for the Court, whether he won or no, after which the Losers had in their Turn the Liberty of Raffling upon the next Vacancy. Thus Hope and Expectation would be kept alive, none would complain of broken Promises, but impute their Disappointments wholly to Fortune, whose Shoulders are broader and stronger than those of a Ministry.

ANOTHER Professor shewed me a large Paper of Instructions for discovering Plots and Conspiracies against the Government. He advised great Statesmen to examine into the Dyet of all suspected Persons; their times of eating; upon which side they lay in Bed; with which Hand they wiped their Posteriors; take a strict View of their Excrements, and from the Colour, the Odour, the Taste, the Consistance, the Crudeness, or Maturity of Digestion form a Judgment of their Thoughts and Designs. Because Men are never so Serious, Thoughtful, and Intent, as when they are at Stool, which he found by frequent Experiment: For in such Conjunctures, when he used meerly as a Trial to consider which was the best way of murdering the King, his Ordure would have a Tincture of Green, but quite different when he thought only of raising an Insurrection or burning the Metropolis.

THE whole Discourse was written with great Acuteness, containing many Observations both curious and useful for Politicians, but as I conceived not altogether compleat. This I ventured to tell the Author, and offered if he pleased to supply him with some Additions. He received my Proposition with more Compliance than is usual among Writers, especially those of the projecting Species, professing he would be glad to receive farther Information.

I told him, that should I happen to live in a Kingdom where Plots and Conspiracies were either in vogue from the turbulency of the meaner People, or could be turned to the use and service of the higher Rank of them, I first would take care to cherish and encourage

 the

the breed of Discoverers, Witnesses, Informers, Accusers, Prosecutors, Evidences, Swearers, together with their several subservient and subaltern Instruments; and when I had got a competent Number of them of all sorts and Capacities, I would put them under the Colour and conduct of some dextrous Persons in sufficient power both to protect and reward them. Men thus qualified and thus empowered might make a most excellent use and advantage of Plots, they might raise their own Characters and pass for most profound Politicians, they might restore new Vigor to a crazy Administration, they might stifle or divert general Discontents; fill their Pockets with Forfeitures, and advance or sink the Opinion of Publick Credit, as either might answer their private Advantage. This might be done by first agreeing and settling among themselves what suspected Persons should be accused of a Plot. Then effectual care is taken to secure all their Letters and Papers, and put the Criminal in safe and secure Custody. These Papers might be delivered to a Sett of Artists of Dexterity sufficient to find out the mysterious Meanings of Words, Syllables, and Letters. They should be allowed to put what Interpretation they pleased upon them, giving them a Sense not only which has no relation at all to them, but even what is quite contrary to their true Intent and real Meaning; thus for Instance, they may, if they so fancy, interpret a *Sieve* to signify a *Court Lady*, a *lame Dog* an *Invader*, the *Plague* a *standing Army*, a *Buzzard* a *great Statesman*, the *Gout* a *High Priest*, a *Chamber-pot* a *Committee of Grandees*, a *Broom* a *Revolution*, a *Mouse-trap* an *Imployment*, a *Bottomless-pit* a *Treasury*, a *Sink* a *Court*, a *Cap and Bells* a *Favorite*, a *broken Reed* a *Court of*

 Justice,

Justice, an *empty Tun* a *General*, a *running Sore* an *Administration.*

But should this Method fail, recourse might be had to others more effectual, by Learned Men called *Acrosticks* and *Anagrams*. First, might be found Men of Skill and Penetration who can discern that all initial Letters have political Meanings. Thus *N* shall signify a Plot, *B* a Regiment of Horse, *L* a Fleet at Sea. Or secondly, by transposing the Letters of the Alphabet in any suspected Paper, who can discover the deepest Designs of a discontented Party. So for example, if I should say in a Letter to a Friend, *Our Brother* Tom *has just got the Piles*, a Man of Skill in this Art would discover how the same Letters which compose that Sentence, may be analysed into the following Words; *Resist,—a Plot is brought Home—The Tour.* And this is the Anagrammatick Method.

The Professor made me great Acknowledgments for communicating these Observations, and promised to make honourable mention of me in his Treatise.

I saw nothing in this Country that could invite me to a longer Continuance, and began to think of returning home to *England.*

CHAP. V

The Author leaves Lagado, *arrives at* Maldonada. *No Ship ready. He takes a short Voyage to* Glubbdubdrib. *His Reception by the Governor.*

THE Continent of which this Kingdom was a part, extends itself, as I have reason to believe, Eastward to that unknown Tract of *America*, Westward of *California*, and North to the Pacifick Ocean, which is not above a hundred and fifty Miles from *Lagado*, where there is a good Port, and much Commerce with the great Island of *Luggnagg*, situated to the North-West about 29 Degrees North Latitude, and 140 Longitude. This Island of *Luggnagg* stands South-Eastwards of *Japan*, about an hundred Leagues distant. There is a strict Alliance between the *Japanese* Emperor and the King of *Luggnagg*, which affords frequent Opportunities of sailing from one Island to the other. I determined therefore to direct my Course this Way in order to my return to *Europe*. I hired two Mules with a Guide to shew me the way, and carry my small Baggage. I took leave of my noble Protector, who had shewn me so much Favour, and made me a generous Present at my Departure.

My Journey was without any Accident or Adventure worth relating. When I arrived at the Port of *Maldonada*, (for so it is called) there was no Ship in the

 Harbour

Harbour bound for *Luggnagg*, nor like to be in some time. The Town is about as large as *Portsmouth*. I soon fell into some Acquaintance, and was very hospitably received. A Gentleman of Distinction said to me, that since the Ships bound for *Luggnagg* could not be ready in less than a Month, it might be no disagreeable Amusement for me to take a Trip to the little Island of *Glubbdubdrib*, about five Leagues off to the South-West. He offered himself and a Friend to accompany me, and that I should be provided with a small convenient Barque for the Voyage.

GLUBBDUBDRIB, as nearly as I can interpret the Word, signifies the Island of *Sorcerers* or *Magicians*. It is about one third as large as the Isle of *Wight*, and extremely Fruitful: It is governed by the Head of a certain Tribe, who are all Magicians. This Tribe marries only among each other, and the eldest in Succession is Prince or Governor. He hath a noble Palace and a Park of about three thousand Acres, surrounded by a Wall of hewn Stone twenty Foot high. In this Park are several smaller Inclosures for Cattle, Corn, and Gardening.

THE Governor and his Family are served and attended by Domesticks of a kind somewhat unusual. By his skill in Necromancy, he hath a Power of calling whom he pleaseth from the Dead, and commanding their Service for twenty-four Hours, but no longer; nor can he call the same Persons up again in less than three Months, except upon very extraordinary Occasions.

When we arrived at the Island, which was about Eleven in the Morning, one of the Gentlemen who accompanied me, went to the Governour, and desired admittance for a Stranger, who came on purpose to have the Honour of attending on his Highness. This was immediately granted, and we all three entered the Gate of the Palace between two Rows of Guards, armed and dressed after a very antick manner, and something in their Countenances that made my Flesh creep with a Horror I cannot express. We passed through several Apartments between Servants of the same sort, ranked on each side as before, till we came to the Chamber of Presence, where after three profound Obeysances, and a few general Questions, we were permitted to sit on three Stools near the lowest Step of his Highness's Throne. He understood the Language of *Balnibarbi*, although it were different from that of his Island. He desired me to give him some account of my Travels; and to let me see that I should be treated without Ceremony, he dismissed all his Attendants with a turn of his Finger, at which to my great Astonishment they vanished in an Instant, like Visions in a Dream, when we awake on a sudden. I could not recover my self in some time, till the Governor assured me that I should receive no hurt; and observing my two Companions to be under no Concern, who had been often entertained in the same manner, I began to take Courage, and related to his Highness a short History of my several Adventures, yet not without some Hesitation, and frequently looking behind me to the Place where I had seen those Domestick Spectres. I had the Honour to dine with the Governor, where a new Set of Ghosts served up the

 Meat,

Meat, and waited at Table. I now observed my self to be less terrified than I had been in the Morning. I stayed till Sun-set, but humbly desired his Highness to excuse me for not accepting his Invitation of lodging in the Palace. My two Friends and I lay at a private House in the Town adjoining, which is the Capital of this little Island; and the next Morning we returned to pay our Duty to the Governour, as he was pleased to command us.

After this manner we continued in the Island for ten Days, most part of every Day with the Governor, and at Night in our Lodging. I soon grew so familiarized to the sight of Spirits, that after the third or fourth time they gave me no Emotion at all; or if I had any Apprehensions left, my Curiosity prevailed over them. For his Highness the Governor ordered me to call up whatever Persons I would chuse to name, and in whatever Numbers among all the Dead from the beginning of the World to the present time, and command them to answer any Questions I should think fit to ask; with this condition, that my Questions must be confined within the compass of the times they lived in. And one thing I might depend upon, that they would certainly tell me the truth, for Lying was a Talent of no use in the lower World.

I made my humble Acknowledgments to his Highness for so great a Favour. We were in a Chamber, from whence there was a fair Prospect into the Park. And because my first Inclination was to be entertained with Scenes of Pomp and Magnificence, I desired to see *Alexander the Great*, at the Head of his

 Army

Army just after the Battle of *Arbela*, which upon a Motion of the Governors Finger immediately appeared in a large Field under the Window, where we stood. *Alexander* was called up in the Room; It was with great difficulty that I understood his *Greek*, and had but little of my own. He assured me upon his Honour that he was not Poisoned, but dyed of a Fever by excessive Drinking.

Next I saw *Hannibal* passing the *Alps*, who told me he had not a drop of Vinegar in his Camp.

I saw *Cæsar* and *Pompey* at the head of their Troops just ready to engage. I saw the former in his last great Triumph. I desired that the Senate of *Rome* might appear before me in one large Chamber, and an Assembly of somewhat a latter Age, in Counterview in another. The first seemed to be an Assembly of Heroes and Demy-Gods; the other a Knot of Pedlars, Pick-pockets, High-way-men, and Bullies.

The Governor at my Request gave the Sign for *Cæsar* and *Brutus* to advance towards us. I was struck with a profound Veneration at the sight of *Brutus*, and could easily discover the most consummate Virtue, the greatest Intrepidity and firmness of Mind, the truest Love of his Country, and general Benevolence for Mankind in every Lineament of his Countenance. I observed with much pleasure, that these two Persons were in good Intelligence with each other, and *Cæsar* freely confessed to me, that the greatest Actions of his own Life were not equal by many Degrees to the Glory of taking it away. I had the Honour to have much

Conversation with *Brutus*; and was told, that his Ancestors *Junius*, *Socrates*, *Epaminondas*, *Cato* the Younger, Sir *Thomas More* and himself, were perpetually together: a Sextumvirate to which all the Ages of the World cannot add a Seventh.

It would be tedious to trouble the Reader with relating what vast numbers of Illustrious Persons were called up, to gratify that insatiable Desire I had to see the World in every Period of Antiquity placed before me. I chiefly fed mine Eyes with beholding the Destroyers of Tyrants and Usurpers, and the Restorers of Liberty to oppressed and injured Nations. But it is impossible to express the Satisfaction I received in my own Mind, after such a manner as to make it a suitable Entertainment to the Reader.

CHAP. VIII

A further Account of Glubbdubdrib. *Antient and Modern History corrected.*

HAVING a desire to see those Antients, who were most renowned for Wit and Learning, I set apart one day on purpose. I proposed that *Homer* and *Aristotle* might appear at the Head of all their Commentators; but these were so numerous that some hundreds were forced to attend in the Court and outward Rooms of the Palace. I knew and could distinguish those two Heroes at first sight, not only from the Croud, but from each other. *Homer* was the taller and comelier Person of the two, walked very erect for one of his Age, and his Eyes were the most quick and piercing I ever beheld. *Aristotle* stooped much, and made use of a staff. His Visage was meager, his Hair lank and thin, and his Voice hollow. I soon discovered that both of them were perfect Strangers to the rest of the Company, and had never seen or heard of them before. And I had a Whisper from a Ghost, who shall be nameless, that these Commentators always kept in the most distant Quarters from their Principals in the lower World, through a Consciousness of Shame and Guilt, because they had so horribly misrepresented the meaning of those Authors to Posterity. I introduced *Didymus* and *Eustathius* to *Homer*, and prevailed on him to treat them better than perhaps they

 deserved,

deserved, for he soon found they wanted a Genius to enter into the Spirit of a Poet. But *Aristotle* was out of all Patience with the account I gave him of *Scotus* and *Ramus*, as I presented them to him, and he asked them whether the rest of the Tribe were as great Dunces as themselves.

I then desired the Governor to call up *Descartes* and *Gassendi*, with whom I prevailed to explain their Systems to *Aristotle*. This great Philosopher freely acknowledged his own Mistakes in Natural Philosophy, because he proceeded in many things upon Conjecture, as all Men must do; and he found, that *Gassendi*, who had made the Doctrine of *Epicurus* as palatable as he could, and the *Vortices* of *Descartes* were equally exploded. He predicted the same Fate to *Attraction*, whereof the present Learned are such zealous Asserters. He said, that new Systems of Nature were but new Fashions, which would vary in every Age; and even those who pretend to demonstrate them from Mathematical Principles, would flourish but a short Period of time, and be out of Vogue when that was determined.

I spent five Days in conversing with many others of the antient Learned. I saw most of the first Roman Emperors. I prevailed on the Governour to call up *Eliogabalus's* Cooks to dress us a Dinner, but they could not shew us much of their Skill, for want of Materials. A *Helot* of *Agesilaus* made us a Dish of *Spartan* Broth, but I was not able to get down a second Spoonful.

THE two Gentlemen who conducted me to the Island were pressed by their private Affairs to return in three

Days, which I employed in seeing some of the modern Dead, who had made the greatest Figure for two or three hundred Years past in our own and other Countries of *Europe*; and having been always a great Admirer of old illustrious Families, I desired the Governour would call up a dozen or two of Kings with their Ancestors in order for eight or nine Generations. But my Disappointment was grievous and unexpected. For instead of a long train with Royal Diadems, I saw in one Family two Fidlers, three spruce Courtiers, and an *Italian* Prelate. In another a Barber, an Abbot, and two Cardinals. I have too great a Veneration for Crowned Heads to dwell any longer on so nice a Subject. But as to Counts, Marquesses, Dukes, Earls, and the like I was not so scrupulous. And I confess it was not without some Pleasure that I found my self able to trace the particular Features, by which certain Families are distinguished up to their Originals. I could plainly discover from whence one Family derives a long Chin, why a second hath abounded with Knaves for two Generations, and Fools for two more; why a third happened to be crack-brained, and a fourth to be Sharpers. Whence it came what *Polydore Virgil* says of a certain great House, *Nec Vir fortis, nec Fœmina Casta.* How Cruelty, Falsehood, and Cowardice grew to be Characteristicks by which certain Families are distinguished as much as by their Coat of Arms. Who first brought the Pox into a noble House, which hath lineally descended in scrophulous Tumours to their Posterity. Neither could I wonder at all this, when I saw such an Interruption of Lineages by Pages, Lacqueys, Valets, Coachmen, Gamesters, Captains, and Pick-pockets.

I was chiefly disgusted with modern History. For having strictly examined all the Persons of greatest Name in the Courts of Princes for an hundred Years past, I found how the World had been misled by prostitute Writers, to ascribe the greatest Exploits in War to Cowards, the Wisest Counsel to Fools, Sincerity to Flatterers, *Roman* Virtue to Betrayers of their Country, Piety to Atheists, Chastity to Sodomites, Truth to Informers. How many innocent and excellent Persons had been condemned to Death or Banishment, by the practising of great Ministers upon the Corruption of Judges, and the Malice of Faction. How many Villains had been exalted to the highest places of Trust, Power, Dignity, and Profit: How great a share in the Motions and Events of Courts, Councils, and Senates might be challenged by Bawds, Whores, Pimps, Parasites, and Buffoons: How low an Opinion I had of human Wisdom and Integrity, when I was truly informed of the Springs and Motives of great Enterprizes and Revolutions in the World, and of the contemptible Accidents to which they owed their Success.

HERE I discovered the Roguery and Ignorance of those who pretend to write *Anecdotes*, or secret History who send so many Kings to their Graves with a Cup of Poison; will repeat the Discourse between a Prince and Chief Minister, where no Witness was by; unlock the Thoughts and Cabinets of Embassadors and Secretaries of State, and have the perpetual Misfortune to be mistaken. Here I discovered the secret Causes of many great Events that have surprized the World, how a Whore can govern the Back-stairs, the Back-stairs

a Council, and the Council a Senate. A General confessed in my Presence, that he got a Victory purely by the force of Cowardice and ill Conduct: and an Admiral that for want of proper Intelligence, he beat the Enemy to whom he intended to betray the Fleet. Three Kings protested to me, that in their whole Reigns they never did once prefer any Person of Merit, unless by Mistake or Treachery of some Minister in whom they confided: Neither would they do it if they were to live again; and they shewed with great strength of Reason, that the Royal Throne could not be supported without Corruption, because that positive, confident, restive Temper, which Virtue infused into Man, was a perpetual Clog to publick Business.

I had the Curiosity to enquire in a particular manner, by what Method great Numbers had procured to themselves high Titles of Honour, and prodigious Estates; and I confined my Enquiry to a very modern Period: however without grating upon present times, because I would be sure to give no Offence even to Foreigners (for I hope the Reader need not be told that I do not in the least intend my own Country in what I say upon this occasion) a great number of Persons concerned were called up, and upon a very slight Examination, discovered such a Scene of Infamy, that I cannot reflect upon it without some Seriousness. Perjury, Oppression, Subornation, Fraud, Pandarism, and the like *Infirmities* were amongst the most excusable Arts they had to mention, and for these I gave, as it was reasonable, great Allowance. But when some confessed they owed their Greatness and Wealth to Sodomy or Incest, others to the prosti-

 tuting

tuting of their own Wives and Daughters; others to the betraying their Country or their Prince; some to Poisoning, more to the perverting of Justice in order to destroy the innocent: I hope I may be pardoned if these Discoveries inclined me a little to abate of that profound Veneration which I am naturally apt to pay to Persons of high Rank, who ought to be treated with the utmost Respect due to their sublime Dignity, by us their Inferiors.

I had often read of some great Services done to Princes and States, and desired to see the Persons by whom those Services were performed. Upon enquiry I was told that their Names were to be found on no Record, except a few of them whom History hath represented as the vilest Rogues and Traitors. As to the rest, I had never once heard of them. They all appeared with dejected Looks, and in the meanest Habit, most of them telling me they died in Poverty and Disgrace, and the rest on a Scaffold or a Gibbet.

Among the rest there was one Person whose Case appeared a little singular. He had a Youth about eighteen Years old standing by his side. He told me he had for many Years been Commander of a Ship, and in the Sea Fight at *Actium*, had the good Fortune to break through the Enemy's great Line of Battle, sink three of their Capital Ships, and take a fourth, which was the sole Cause of *Anthony's* Flight, and of the Victory that ensued; that the Youth standing by him, his only Son, was killed in the Action. He added, that upon the Confidence of some Merit, this War being at an end, he went to *Rome*, and solicited at the Court

 of

of *Augustus* to be preferred to a greater Ship, whose Commander had been killed; but without any regard to his Pretensions, it was given to a Youth who had never seen the Sea, the Son of *Libertina*, who waited on one of the Emperor's Mistresses. Returning back to his own Vessels, he was charged with neglect of Duty, and the Ship given to a Favourite Page of *Publicola* the Vice-Admiral; whereupon he retired to a poor Farm, at a great distance from *Rome*, and there ended his Life. I was so curious to know the truth of this Story, that I desired *Agrippa* might be called, who was Admiral in that Fight. He appeared and confirmed the whole Account, but with much more Advantage to the Captain, whose Modesty had extenuated or concealed a great part of his Merit.

I was surprized to find Corruption grown so high and so quick in that Empire, by the force of Luxury so lately introduced, which made me less wonder at many parallel Cases in other Countries, where Vices of all kinds have reigned so much longer, and where the whole Praise as well as Pillage hath been engrossed by the chief Commander, who perhaps had the least Title to either.

As every Person called up made exactly the same appearance he had done in the World, it gave me melancholy Reflections to observe how much the Race of human kind was degenerate among us, within these hundred Years past. How the Pox under all its Consequences and Denominations had altered every Lineament of an *English* Countenance, shortned the size of Bodies, unbraced the Nerves, relaxed the Sinews and

Muscles, introduced a sallow Complexion, and rendered the Flesh loose and *Rancid.*

I descended so low as to desire that some *English* Yeomen of the old stamp, might be summoned to appear, once so famous for the Simplicity of their Manners, Dyet and Dress, for Justice in their Dealings, for their true Spirit of Liberty, for their Valour and Love of their Country. Neither could I be wholly unmov'd after comparing the Living with the Dead, when I considered how all these pure native Virtues were prostituted for a piece of Money by their Grand-children, who in selling their Votes, and managing at Elections have acquired every Vice and Corruption that can possibly be learned in a Court.

CHAP. IX

The Author's Return to Maldonada. *Sails to the Kingdom of* Luggnagg. *The Author confined. He is sent for to Court. The manner of his Admittance. The King's great Lenity to his Subjects.*

THE Day of our Departure being come, I took leave of his Highness the Governor of *Glubbdubdrib*, and returned with my two Companions to *Maldonada*, where after a Fortnight's waiting, a Ship was ready to sail for *Luggnagg*. The two Gentlemen and some others were so generous and kind as to furnish me with Provisions, and see me on board. I was a Month in this Voyage. We had one violent Storm, and were under a necessity of steering Westward to get into the Trade-Wind which holds for above sixty Leagues. On the 21st of *April*, 1711. we sailed in the River *Clumegnig*, which is a Sea-port Town, at the South-East Point of *Luggnagg*. We cast Anchor within a League of the Town, and made a Signal for a Pilot. Two of them came on board in less than half an Hour, by whom we were guided between certain Shoals and Rocks which are very dangerous in a Passage to a large Basin, where a Fleet may ride in safety within a Cable's Length of the Town Wall.

SOME of our Sailors, whether out of Treachery or Inadvertence, had informed the Pilots that I was a

 Stranger

Stranger and a great Traveller, whereof these gave notice to a Custom-House Officer, by whom I was examined very strictly upon my landing. This Officer spoke to me in the Language of *Balnibarbi*, which by the force of much Commerce is generally understood in that Town, especially by Sea-men, and those employed in the Customs. I gave him a short Account of some Particulars, and made my Story as plausible and consistent as I could; but I thought it necessary to disguise my Country, and call my self an *Hollander*, because my Intentions were for *Japan*, and I knew the *Dutch* were the only *Europeans* permitted to enter into that Kingdom. I therefore told the Officer, that having been Shipwrecked on the Coast of *Balnibarbi*, and cast on a Rock, I was received up into *Laputa*, or the flying Island (of which he had often heard) and was now endeavouring to get to *Japan*, from whence I might find a Convenience of returning to my own Country. The Officer said I must be confined till he could receive Orders from Court, for which he would write immediately, and hoped to receive an Answer in a fortnight. I was carried to a convenient Lodging, with a Centry placed at the Door; however I had the Liberty of a large Garden, and was treated with Humanity enough, being maintained all the time at the King's Charge. I was invited by several Persons, chiefly out of Curiosity, because it was reported that I came from Countries very remote of which they never heard.

I hired a young Man who came in the same Ship to be an Interpreter; he was a Native of *Luggnagg*, but had lived some Years at *Maldonada*, and was a perfect

Master of both Languages. By his Assistance I was able to hold a Conversation with those who came to visit me; but this consisted only of their Questions, and my Answers.

The Dispatch came from Court about the time we expected. It contain'd a Warrant for conducting me and my Retinue to *Traldragdubh* or *Trildrogdrib*, for it is pronounced both ways as near as I can remember, by a party of Ten Horse. All my Retinue was that poor Lad for an Interpreter, whom I persuaded into my Service, and at my humble Request, we had each of us a Mule to ride on. A Messenger was dispatch'd half a day's Journey before us, to give the King notice of my Approach, and to desire that his Majesty would please to appoint a Day and Hour, when it would be his gracious Pleasure that I might have the Honour to *lick the Dust before his Footstool*. This is the Court Style, and I found it to be more than matter of form. For upon my Admittance two Days after my arrival, I was commanded to crawl on my Belly, and lick the Floor as I advanced; but on account of my being a Stranger, care was taken to have it swept so clean that the Dust was not offensive. However, this was a peculiar Grace, not allowed to any but Persons of the highest Rank, when they desire an Admittance. Nay, sometimes the Floor is strewed with Dust on purpose, when the Person to be admitted happens to have powerful Enemies at Court. And I have seen a great Lord with his Mouth so crammed, that when he had crept to the proper Distance from the Throne, he was not able to speak a Word. Neither is there any Remedy, because it is Capital for those who receive an Audience to spit

or wipe their Mouths in his Majesty's Presence. There is indeed another Custom, which I cannot altogether approve of. When the King hath a mind to put any of his Nobles to Death in a gentle indulgent manner, he commands to have the Floor strowed with a certain brown Powder, of a deadly Composition, which being licked up infallibly kills him in twenty-four Hours. But in Justice to this Prince's great Clemency, and the care he hath of his Subjects Lives (wherein it were much to be wished that the Monarchs of *Europe* would imitate him) it must be mentioned for his Honour, that strict orders are given to have the infected parts of the Floor well washed after every such Execution; which if his Domesticks neglect, they are in danger of incurring his Royal Displeasure. I my self heard him give Directions, that one of his Pages should be whipt, whose turn it was to give notice about washing the Floor after an Execution, but maliciously had omitted it, by which Neglect a young Lord of great Hopes coming to an Audience, was unfortunately poisoned, although the King at that time had no design against his Life. But this good Prince was so gracious, as to forgive the poor Page his Whipping, upon promise that he would do so no more, without special Orders.

To return from this Digression; when I had crept within four Yards of the Throne, I raised my self gently upon my Knees, and then striking my Forehead seven times on the Ground, I pronounced the following Words, as they had been taught me the Night before, *Ickpling Gloffthrobb Squutserumm blhiop Mlashnalt Zwin tnodbalkuffh Slhiophad Gurdlubh Asht.* This is the Com-

 pliment

pliment established by the Laws of the Land for all Persons admitted to the King's Presence. It may be rendered into *English* thus: *May your cœlestial Majesty out-live the Sun, eleven Moons and an half.* To this the King returned some Answer, which although I could not understand, yet I replied as I had been directed; *Fluft drin Yalerick Dwuldom prastrad mirpush*, which properly signifies, *My Tongue is in the Mouth of my Friend*, and by this Expression was meant that I desired leave to bring my Interpreter; whereupon the young Man already mentioned was accordingly introduced, by whose Intervention I answer'd as many Questions as his Majesty could put in above an Hour. I spoke in the *Balnibarbian* Tongue, and my Interpreter delivered my Meaning in that of *Luggnagg*.

THE King was much delighted with my Company, and ordered his *Bliffmarklub* or high Chamberlain to appoint a Lodging in the Court for me and my Interpreter, with a daily Allowance for my Table, and a large Purse of Gold for my common Expences.

I stayed three Months in this Country out of perfect Obedience to his Majesty, who was pleased highly to favour me, and made me very honourable Offers. But, I thought it more consistent with Prudence and Justice to pass the remainder of my Days with my Wife and Family.

CHAP. X

The Luggnuggians *commended. A particular Description of the* Struldbrugs, *with many Conversations between the Author and some eminent Persons upon that Subject.*

THE *Luggnuggians* are a polite and generous People, and although they are not without some share of that Pride which is peculiar to all *Eastern* Countries, yet they shew themselves courteous to Strangers, especially such who are countenanced by the Court. I had many Acquaintance among Persons of the best Fashion, and being always attended by my Interpreter, the Conversation we had was not disagreeable.

ONE Day in much good Company I was asked by a Person of Quality, whether I had seen any of their *Struldbrugs* or *Immortals*. I said I had not, and desired he would explain to me what he meant by such an Appellation applyed to a mortal Creature. He told me, that sometimes, though very rarely, a Child happened to be born in a Family with a red circular Spot in the Forehead, directly over the left Eyebrow, which was an infallible Mark that it should never dye. The Spot, as he described it, was about the compass of a Silver Threepence, but in the course of Time grew larger, and changed its Colour; for at twelve Years old it became Green, so continued till five and Twenty,

then

then turned to a deep Blue; at Five and Forty it grew coal Black, and as large as an *English* Shilling, but never admitted any farther Alteration. He said these Births were so rare, that he did not believe there could be above Eleven Hundred *Struldbrugs* of both Sexes in the whole Kingdom, of which he computed about fifty in the Metropolis, and among the rest a young Girl born about three Years ago. That these Productions were not peculiar to any Family but a meer effect of Chance, and the Children of the *Struldbruggs* themselves, were equally mortal with the rest of the People.

I freely own my self to have been struck with inexpressible Delight upon hearing this Account: And the Person who gave it me happening to understand the *Balnibarbian* Language, which I spoke very well, I could not forbear breaking out into expressions perhaps a little too Extravagant. I cryed out as in a Rapture; Happy Nation where every Child hath at least a chance for being immortal! Happy People who enjoy so many living Examples of antient Virtue, and have Masters ready to instruct them in the Wisdom of all former Ages! But, happiest beyond all comparison are those excellent *Struldbruggs*, who born exempt from that universal Calamity of human Nature, have their Minds free and disingaged, without the weight and depression of Spirits caused by the continual Apprehension of Death. I discovered my Admiration that I had not observed any of these illustrious Persons at Court: the black Spot on the Fore-head, being so remarkable a Distinction, that I could not have easily overlooked it: And it was impossible that his Majesty, a most Judicious Prince, should not provide himself

 with

with a good number of such wise and able Councellours. Yet perhaps the Virtue of those Reverend Sages was too strict for the Corrupt and Libertine Manners of a Court. And we often find by Experience that young Men are too opinionative and volatile to be guided by the sober Dictates of their Seniors. However, since the King was pleased to allow me Access to his Royal Person, I was resolved upon the very first occasion to deliver my Opinion to him on this Matter freely, and at large by the help of my Interpreter; and whether he would please to take my Advice or no, yet in one thing I was determined, that his Majesty having frequently offered me an Establishment in this Country, I would with great thankfulness accept the Favour, and pass my Life here in the Conversation of those superiour Beings the *Struldbruggs*, if they would please to admit me.

The Gentleman to whom I addressed my Discourse, because (as I have already observed) he spoke the Language of *Balnibarbi*, said to me with a sort of a Smile, which usually ariseth from Pity to the Ignorant, that he was glad of any occasion to keep me among them, and desired my Permission to explain to the Company what I had spoke. He did so, and they talked together for some time in their own Language, whereof I understood not a Syllable, neither could I observe by their Countenances what impression my Discourse had made on them. After a short Silence the same Person told me, that his Friends and mine (so he thought fit to express himself) were very much pleased with the judicious Remarks I had made on the great Happiness and Advantages of immortal Life, and

 they

they were desirous to know in a particular manner, what Scheme of Living I should have formed to my self, if it had fallen to my Lot to have been born a *Struldbrugg*.

I answered, it was easy to be Eloquent on so copious and delightful a Subject, especially to me who have been often apt to amuse my self with Visions of what I should do if I were a King, a General, or a great Lord: And upon this very Case I had frequently run over the whole System how I should employ my self, and pass the time if I were sure to live for ever.

That, if it had been my good Fortune to come into the World a *Struldbrugg*, as soon as I could discover my own Happiness by understanding the difference between Life and Death, I would first resolve by all Arts and Methods whatsoever to procure my self Riches. In the pursuit of which by Thrift and Management, I might reasonably expect in about two Hundred Years, to be the Wealthiest Man in the Kingdom. In the second place, I would from my earliest Youth apply myself to the study of Arts and Sciences, by which I should arrive in time to excel all others in Learning. Lastly I would carefully record every Action and Event of Consequence that happened in the Publick, impartially draw the Characters of the several Successions of Princes, and great Ministers of State, with my own Observations on every Point. I would exactly set down the several changes in Customs, Languages, Fashions, Dress, Dyet and Diversions. By all which Acquirements, I should be a living Treasury of Know-

 ledge

ledge and Wisdom, and certainly become the Oracle of the Nation.

I would never marry after threescore, but live in an hospitable manner, yet still on the saving side. I would entertain myself in forming and directing the Minds of hopeful young Men, by convincing them from my own Remembrance, Experience and Observation, fortified by numerous Examples, of the usefulness of Virtue in publick and private Life. But, my Choice and constant Companions should be a sett of my own immortal Brother-hood, among whom I would elect a dozen from the most Ancient down to my own Contemporaries. Where any of these wanted Fortunes, I would provide them with convenient Lodges round my own Estate, and have some of them always at my Table, only mingling a few of the most valuable among you Mortals, whom length of Time would harden me to lose with little or no Reluctance, and treat your Posterity after the same manner, just as a Man diverts himself with the Annual Succession of Pinks and Tulips in his Garden, without regretting the loss of those which withered the preceeding Year.

These *Struldbruggs* and I would mutually communicate our Observations and Memorials through the Course of Time, remark the several Gradations by which Corruption steals into the World, and oppose it in every step, by giving perpetual Warning and Instruction to Mankind; which, added to the strong Influence of our own Example, would probably prevent that continual Degeneracy of Human Nature so justly complained of in all Ages.

Add to all this, the pleasure of seeing the various Revolutions of States and Empires, the Changes in the lower and upper World, antient Cities in Ruins, and obscure Villages become the Seats of Kings. Famous Rivers lessening into shallow Brooks, the Ocean leaving one Coast dry, and overwhelming another: The Discovery of many Countries yet unknown. Barbarity over-running the politest Nations, and the most barbarous become civilized. I should then see the discovery of the *Longitude*, the *perpetual Motion*, the *Universal Medicine*, and many other great Inventions brought to the utmost Perfection.

What wonderful Discoveries should we make in Astronomy, by outliving and confirming our own Predictions, by observing the Progress and Returns of Comets, with the changes of Motion in the Sun, Moon and Stars.

I enlarged upon many other Topicks which the natural desire of endless Life and sublunary Happiness could easily furnish me with. When I had ended, and the Sum of my Discourse had been interpreted as before, to the rest of the Company, there was a good deal of Talk among them in the Language of the Country, not without some Laughter at my Expence. At last the same Gentleman who had been my Interpreter said, he was desired by the rest to set me right in a few Mistakes, which I had fallen into through the common Imbecillity of human Nature, and upon that allowance was less answerable for them. That, this Breed of *Struldbruggs* was peculiar to their County, for there were no such People either in *Balnibarbi* or *Japan*,

 where

where he had the Honour to be Embassador from his Majesty, and found the Natives in both these Kingdoms very hard to believe that the Fact was possible, and it appeared from my Astonishment when he first mentioned the matter to me, that I received it as a thing wholly new, and scarcely to be credited. That in the two Kingdoms above mentioned, where during his Residence he had conversed very much, he observed long Life to be the universal Desire and Wish of Mankind. That whoever had one Foot in the Grave, was sure to hold back the other as strongly as he could. That the eldest had still hopes of living one Day longer, and looked on Death as the greatest Evil, from which Nature always prompted him to retreat; only in this Island of *Luggnagg*, the Appetite for living was not so eager, from the continual Example of the *Struldbruggs* before their Eyes.

That the System of Living contrived by me was unreasonable and unjust, because it supposed a Perpetuity of Youth, Health, and Vigour, which no Man could be so foolish to hope, however extravagant he may be in his Wishes. That the Question therefore was not whether a Man would chuse to be always in the Prime of Youth, attended with Prosperity and Health, but how he would pass a perpetual Life under all the usual Disadvantages which old Age brings along with it. For although few Men will avow their Desires of being immortal upon such hard Conditions, yet in the two Kingdoms before-mentioned of *Balnibarbi* and *Japan*, he observed that every Man desired to put off Death for sometime longer, let it approach ever so late, and he rarely heard of any Man who died willingly,

ingly, except he were incited by the Extremity of Grief or Torture. And he appealed to me whether in those Countries I had travelled as well as my own, I had not observed the same general Disposition.

After this Preface he gave me a particular Account of the *Struldbruggs* among them. He said they commonly acted like Mortals, till about thirty Years old, after which by degrees they grew melancholy and dejected, encreasing in both till they came to four-score. This he learned from their own Confession; for otherwise there not being above two or three of that Species born in an Age, were too few to form a general Observation by. When they came to four-score Years, which is reckoned the Extremity of living in this Country, they had not only all the Follies and Infirmities of other old Men, but many more which arose from the dreadful Prospect of never dying. They were not only Opinionative, Peevish, Covetous, Morose, Vain, Talkative, but uncapable of Friendship, and dead to all natural Affection, which never descended below their Grand-children. Envy and impotent Desires are their prevailing Passions. But those Objects against which their Envy seems principally directed, are the Vices of the younger sort, and the Deaths of the Old. By reflecting on the former, they find themselves cut off from all possibility of Pleasure; and whenever they see a Funeral, they lament and repine that others are gone to an Harbour of Rest, to which they themselves never can hope to arrive. They have no Remembrance of any thing but what they learned and observed in their Youth and middle Age, and even that is very imperfect. And for the

Truth or Particulars of any Fact, it is safer to depend on common Traditions than upon their best Recollections. The least miserable among them appear to be those who turn to Dotage, and entirely lose their Memories; these meet with more Pity and Assistance, because they want many bad Qualities which abound in others.

If a *Struldbrugg* happen to marry one of his own kind, the Marriage is dissolved of course by the Courtesy of the Kingdom, as soon as the younger of the two come to be four-score. For the Law thinks it a reasonable Indulgence, that those who are condemned without any Fault of their own to a perpetual Continuance in the World, should not have their Misery doubled by the Load of a Wife.

As soon as they have compleated the term of eighty Years, they are look'd on as dead in Law; their Heirs immediately succeed to their Estates, only a small Pittance is reserved for their Support, and the poor ones are maintained at the publick Charge. After that Period they are held incapable of any Employment of Trust or Profit, they cannot purchase Lands or take Leases, neither are they allowed to be Witnesses in any Cause, either Civil or Criminal, not even for the Decision of Meers and Bounds.

At Ninety they lose their Teeth and Hair, they have at that age no Distinction of Taste, but eat and drink whatever they can get, without Relish or Appetite. The Diseases they were subject to still continuing without encreasing or diminishing. In talking they forgot

 the

the common Appellation of things, and the Names of Persons, even of those who are their nearest Friends and Relations. For the same reason they never can amuse themselves with reading, because their Memory will not serve to carry them from the beginning of a Sentence to the end; and by this Defect they are deprived of the only Entertainment whereof they might otherwise be capable.

The Language of this Country being always upon the Flux, the *Struldbruggs* of one Age do not understand those of another, neither are they able after two hundred Years to hold any Conversation (farther than by a few general Words) with their Neighbours the Mortals, and thus they lye under the Disadvantage of living like Foreigners in their own Country.

This was the Account given me of the *Struldbruggs*, as near as I can remember. I afterwards saw five or six of different Ages, the youngest not above two hundred Years old, who were brought me at several times by some of my Friends; but although they were told that I was a great Traveller, and had seen all the World, they had not the least Curiosity to ask me a Question; only desired I would give them *Slumskudask*, or a Token of Remembrance, which is a modest way of begging, to avoid the Law that strictly forbids it, because they are provided for by the Publick, although indeed with a very scanty Allowance.

They are deprived and hated by all sort of People; when one of them is born, it is reckoned ominous, and their Birth is recorded very particularly; so that you

 may

may know their Age by consulting the Registry, which however hath not been kept above a thousand Years past, or at least hath been destroyed by time or publick Disturbances. But the usual way of computing how old they are is by asking them what Kings or great Persons they can remember, and then consulting History, for infallibly the last Prince in their Mind did not begin his Reign after they were Four-score Years old.

THEY were the most mortifying Sight I ever beheld, and the Women more horrible than the Men. Besides the usual Deformities in extreme Old-Age, they acquired an additional Ghastliness in proportion to their number of Years, which is not to be described, and among half a Dozen I soon distinguished which was the eldest, although there was not above a Century or two between them.

THE Reader will easily believe, that from what I had heard and seen, my keen Appetite for perpetuity of Life was much abated. I grew heartily ashamed of the pleasing Visions I had formed, and thought no Tyrant could invent a Death into which I would not run with Pleasure from such a Life. The King heard of all that had passed between me and my Friends upon this Occasion, and rallied me very pleasantly, wishing I would send a Couple of *Struldbruggs* to my own Country, to arm our People against the Fear of Death; but this it seems is forbidden by the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, or else I should have been well content with the trouble and expence of transporting them.

I COULD not but agree that the Laws of this Kingdom, relating to the *Struldbruggs*, were founded upon the strongest Reasons, and such as any other Country would be under the Necessity of enacting in the like Circumstances. Otherwise, as Avarice is the necessary Consequent of old-Age, those Immortals would in time become Proprietors of the whole Nation, and engross the Civil Power, which, for want of Abilities to manage, must end in the Ruin of the Publick.

CHAP. XI

The Author leaves Luggnagg *and sails to* Japan. *From thence he returns in a* Dutch *Ship to* Amsterdam, *and from* Amsterdam *to* England.

I Thought this Account of the *Struldbruggs* might be some Entertainment to the Reader, because it seems to be a little out of the common Way, at least, I do not remember to have met the like in any Book of Travels that hath come to my Hands: And if I am deceived, my Excuse must be, that it is necessary for Travellers, who describe the same Country, very often to agree in dwelling on the same Particulars, without deserving the Censure of having borrowed or transcribed from those who wrote before them.

THERE is indeed a perpetual Commerce between this Kingdom and the great Empire of *Japan*, and it is very probable that the *Japanese* Authors may have given some Account of the *Struldbruggs*; but my Stay in *Japan* was so short, and I was so intirely a Stranger to that Language, that I was not qualified to make any Enquiries. But I hope the *Dutch* upon this Notice will be curious and able enough to supply my Defects.

HIS Majesty having often pressed me to accept some Employment in his Court, and finding me absolutely determined to return to my Native Country, was pleased to give me his Licence to depart, and honoured

me

me with a Letter of Recommendation under his own Hand to the Emperor of *Japan*. He likewise presented me with Four Hundred forty-four large Pieces of Gold (this Nation delighting in even Numbers) and a red Diamond which I sold in *England* for Eleven Hundred Pounds.

On the Sixth Day of *May* 1709, I took a solemn Leave of his Majesty, and all my Friends. This Prince was so gracious as to order a Guard to conduct me to *Glanguenstald*, which is a Royal Port to the *South-West* Part of the Island. In Six Days I found a Vessel ready to carry me to *Japan*, and spent Fifteen Days in the Voyage. We landed at a small Port-Town called *Xamoschi*, situated on the *South-East* Part of *Japan*; the Town lies on the *Western* Point, where there is a narrow Streight, leading *Northward* into a long Arm of the Sea, upon the *North-West* Part of which, *Yedo* the Metropolis stands. At Landing I shewed the Custom-House Officers my Letter from the King of *Luggnagg* to his Imperial Majesty. They knew the Seal perfectly well, it was as broad as the Palm of my Hand. The Impression was, *A King lifting up a lame Beggar from the Earth.* The Magistrates of the Town hearing of my Letter, received me as a Publick Minister, they provided me with Carriages and Servants, and bore my Charges to *Yedo*, where I was admitted to an Audience, and delivered my Letter, which was opened with great Ceremony, and explained to the Emperor by an Interpreter, who then gave me notice by his Majesty's Order, that I should signify my Request, and, whatever it were, it should be granted for the sake of his Royal Brother of *Luggnagg*. This Interpreter was

a Person employed to transact Affairs with the *Hollanders*, he soon conjectured by my Countenance that I was an *European*, and therefore repeated his Majesty's Commands in *Low-Dutch*, which he spoke perfectly well. I answered, (as I had before determined) that I was a *Dutch* Merchant, shipwrecked in a very remote Country, from whence I travelled by Sea and Land to *Luggnagg*, and then took Shipping for *Japan*, where I knew my Countrymen often traded, and with some of these I hoped to get an Opportunity of returning into *Europe*: I therefore most humbly entreated his Royal Favour, to give order, that I should be conducted in safety to *Nangasac*: To this I added another Petition, that for the sake of my Patron the King of *Luggnagg*, his Majesty would condescend to excuse my performing the Ceremony imposed on my Countrymen of *trampling upon the Crucifix*, because I had been thrown into his Kingdom by my Misfortunes, without any intention of trading. When this latter Petition was interpreted to the Emperor, he seemed a little surprized, and said, he believed I was the first of my Countrymen who ever made any scruple in this Point, and that he began to doubt whether I was a real *Hollander* or no; but rather suspected I must be a CHRISTIAN. However, for the Reasons I had offered, but chiefly to gratify the King of *Luggnagg*, by an uncommon Mark of his Favour, he would comply with the *singularity* of my Humour, but the Affair must be managed with Dexterity, and his Officers should be commanded to let me pass as it were by Forgetfulness. For he assured me, that if the secret should be discovered by my Countrymen, the *Dutch*, they would cut my Throat in the Voyage. I returned my Thanks by

 the

the Interpreter for so unusual a Favour, and some Troops being at that time on their March to *Nangasac*, the Commanding Officer had Orders to conver me safe thither, with particular Instructions about the Business of the *Crucifix*.

On the 9th Day of *June*, 1709. I arrived at *Nangasac*, after a very long and troublesome Journey. I soon fell into Company of some *Dutch* Sailors belonging to the *Amboyna* of *Amsterdam*, a stout Ship of 450 Tuns. I had lived long in *Holland*, pursuing my Studies at *Leyden*, and I spoke *Dutch* well. The Seamen soon knew from whence I came last; they were curious to enquire into my Voyages and Course of Life. I made up a Story as short and probable as I could, but concealed the greatest part. I knew many Persons in *Holland*, I was able to invent Names for my Parents, whom I pretended to be obscure People in the Province of *Gelderland*. I would have given the Captain (one *Theodorus Vangrult*) what he pleased to ask for my Voyage to *Holland*; but understanding I was a Surgeon, he was contented to take half the usual Rate, on Condition that I would serve him in the way of my Calling. Before we took Shipping I was often asked by some of the Crew, Whether I had petformed the Ceremony above-mentioned? I evaded the Question by general Answers, that I had satisfied the Emperor and Court in all Particulars. However, a malicious Rogue of a Skipper went to an Officer, and pointing to me, told him I had not yet *trampled on the Crucifix*: But the other, who had received Instructions to let me pass, gave the Rascal twenty Strokes on the Shoulders with a Bamboo, after which I was no more troubled with such Questions.

NOTHING happened worth mentioning in this Voyage. We sailed with a fair Wind to the *Cape of Good Hope* where we stayed only to take in fresh Water. On the 16th of *April* we arrived safe to *Amsterdam*, having lost only three Men by Sickness in the Voyage, and a fourth who fell from the Fore-mast into the Sea, not far from the Coast of *Guiuea*. From *Amsterdam* I soon after set Sail for *England* in a small Vessel belonging to that City.

ON the 10th of *April* 1710, we put in at the *Downs*. I landed the next Morning, and saw once more my Native Country after an absence of Five Years and Six Months compleat. I went strait to *Redriff*, where I arrived the same Day at two in the Afternoon, and found my Wife and Family in good Health.

The End of the THIRD PART.

TRAVELS

INTO SEVERAL

Remote Nations

OF THE

WORLD.

By Captain LEMUEL GULLIVER.

PART IV.

A VOYAGE to the HOUYHNHNMS.

LONDON:

Printed in the Year, MDCCXXVI.

THE

CONTENTS

CHAP. I

THE Author sets out as Captain of a Ship. His Men conspire against him, confine him a long time to his Cabbin, set him on Shore in an unknown Land. He travels up in the Country. The Yahoos *a strange Sort of Animal described. The Author meets two* Houyhnhnms.

CHAP. II

The Author conducted by a Houyhnhnm *to his House. The House described. The Author's Reception. The Food of the* Houyhnhnms. *The Author in distress for Want of Meat, is at last relieved. His Manner of feeding in this Country.*

CHAP. III

The Author studious to learn the Language, the Houyhnhnm *his Master assists in teaching him. The Language described. Several* Houyhnhnms *of Quality come out of Curiosity to see the Author. He gives his Master a short Account of his Voyage.*

CHAP. IV

The Houyhnhnms *Notion of Truth and Falshood. The Author's Discourse disapproved by his Master. The Author gives a more particular Account of himself, and the Accidents of his Voyage.*

CHAP. V

The Author at his Master's Command informs him of the State of England. *The Causes of War among the Princes of* Europe. *The Author begins to explain the* English *Constitution.*

CHAP. VI

A Continuation of the State of England *; so well governed by a Queen as to need no first Minister. The Character of such an one in some* European *Courts.*

CHAP. VII

The Author's great Love of his Native Country. His Master's Observations upon the Constitution and Administration of England, *as described by the Author, with parallel Cases and Comparisons. His Master's Observations upon Human Nature.*

CHAP. VIII

The Author relates several Particulars of the Yahoos. *The great Virtues of the* Houyhnhnms. *The Education and Exercises of their Youth. Their general Assembly.*

CHAP. IX

A grand Debate at the General Assembly of the Houyhnhnms, *and how it was determined. The Learning of the* Houyhnhnms. *Their Buildings. Their manner of Burials. The Defectiveness of their Language.*

CHAP. X

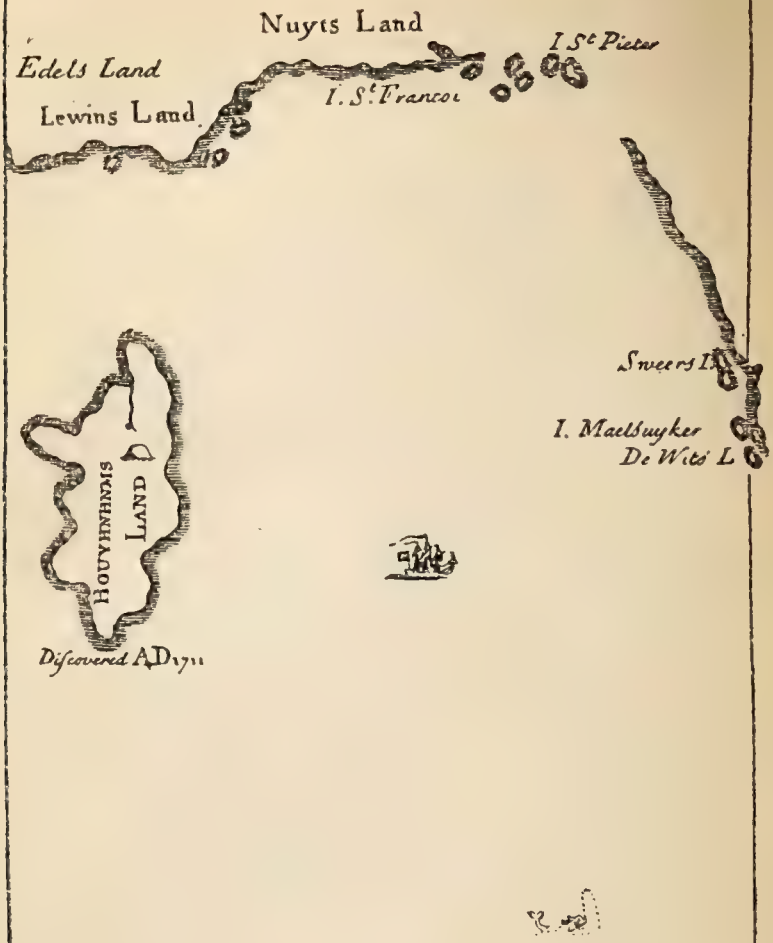
The Author's Oeconomy, and happy Life among the Houyhnhnms. *His great Improvement in Virtue, by conversing with them. Their Conversations. The Author has notice given him by his Master that he must depart from the Country. He falls into a Swoon for Grief, but submits. He contrives and finishes a Canoo, by the help of a Fellow-Servant, and puts to Sea at a venture.*

CHAP. XI

The Author's dangerous Voyage. He arrives at New-Holland, *hoping to settle there. Is wounded with an Arrow by one of the Natives. Is seized and carried by Force into a* Portugueze *Ship. The great Civilities of the Captain. The Author arrives at* England.

CHAP. XII

The Author's Veracity. His Design in publishing this Work. His Censure of those Travellers who swerve from the Truth. The Author clears himself from any sinister Ends in writing. An Objection answered. The Method of planting Colonies. His Native Country commended. The Right of the Crown to those Countries described by the Author is justified. The Difficulty of conquering them. The Author takes his last leave of the Reader: proposeth his Manner of Living for the future, gives good Advice, and concludes.


Nuyts Land
I. S.t Pieter
Edels Land
Lewins Land
I. S.t Francois
Sweers I.
I. Maelsuyker
De Wits L.
HOUYHENS
LAND
Discovered A.D. 1711

TRAVELS

PART IV

A VOYAGE *to the Country of the* HOUYHNHNMS

CHAP. I

The Author sets out as Captain of a Ship. His Men conspire against him, confine him a long Time to his Cabbin, set him on shoar in an unknown Land. He travels up in the Country. The Yahoos, *a strange Sort of Animal, described. The Author meets two* Houyhnhnms.

I CONTINUED at Home with my Wife and Children about Five Months in a very happy Condition, if I could have learned the Lesson of knowing when I was well. I left my poor Wife big with Child, and accepted an advantagious Offer made me to be Captain of the *Adventure*, a stout Merchant-man of 350 Tuns: For I understood Navigation well, and being

grown

grown weary of a Surgeon's Employment at Sea, which however I could exercise upon occasion, I took a skilful young Man of that Calling, one *Robert Purefoy*, into my Ship. We set sail from *Portsmouth* upon the Second Day of *August*, 1710; on the Fourteenth, we met with Captain *Pocock* of *Bristol*, at *Tenariff*, who was going to the Bay of *Campechy*, to cut Log-wood. On the Sixteenth, he was parted from us by a Storm; I heard since my Return, that his Ship foundered, and none escaped, but one Cabbin-Boy. He was an honest Man, and a good Sailor, but a little too positive in his own Opinions, which was the Cause of his Destruction, as it hath been of several others. For if he had followed my Advice, he might have been safe at home with his Family at this Time, as well as myself.

I HAD several Men died in my Ship of Calentures, so that I was forced to get Recruits out of *Barbadoes*, and the *Leeward Islands*, where I touched by the Direction of the Merchants who employed me, which I had soon too much cause to repent; for I found afterwards that most of them had been Bucaneers. I had Fifty Hands on board, and my Orders were, that I should trade with the *Indians*, in the *South-Sea*, and make what Discoveries I could. These Rogues whom I had picked up debauched my other Men, and they all formed a Conspiracy to seize the Ship and secure me; which they did one Morning, rushing into my Cabbin, and binding me Hand and Foot, threatning to throw me over-board, if I offered to stir. I told them, I was their Prisoner, and would submit. This they made me swear to do, and then they unbound me, only fastening one of my Legs with a Chain near my Bed, and placed

a Centry at my Door with his Piece charged, who was commanded to shoot me dead, if I attempted my Liberty. They sent me down Victuals and Drink, and took the Government of the Ship to themselves. Their Design was to turn Pyrates, and plunder the *Spaniards*, which they could not do, till they got more Men. But first they resolved to sell the Goods in the Ship, and then go to *Madagascar* for Recruits, several among them having died since my Confinement. They sailed many Weeks, and traded with the *Indians*, but I knew not what Course they took, being kept a close Prisoner in my Cabbin, and expecting nothing less than to be murdered, as they often threatned me.

Upon the Ninth Day of *May* 1711. one *James Welch* came down to my Cabbin; and said he had Orders from the Captain, to set me a-shore. I expostulated with him, but in vain; neither would he so much as tell me who their new Captain was. They forced me into the Long-boat, letting me put on my best Suit of Cloaths, which were as good as New, and a small Bundle of Linnen, but no Arms except my Hanger; and they were so civil as not to search my Pockets, into which I conveyed what Money I had, with some other little Necessaries. They rowed about a League; and then set me down on a Strand. I desired them to tell me, what Country it was. They all swore, they knew no more than myself, but said, that the Captain (as they called him) was resolved, after they had sold the Lading, to get rid of me in the first Place, where they could discover Land. They pushed off immediately, advising me to make haste, for fear of being overtaken by the Tide, and so bad me Farewell.

In this desolate Condition I advanced forward, and soon got upon firm Ground, where I sate down on a Bank to rest myself, and consider what I had best to do. When I was a little refreshed, I went up into the Country, resolving to deliver myself to the first Savages I should meet, and purchase my Life from them by some Bracelets, Glas-rings, and other Toys, which Sailors usually provide themselves with in those Voyages, and whereof I had some about me: The Land was divided by long Rows of Trees, not regularly planted, but naturally growing; there was great plenty of Grass, and several Fields of Oats. I walked very circumspectly for fear of being surprized, or suddenly shot with an Arrow from behind or on either side. I fell into a beaten Road, where I saw many Tracks of human Feet, and some of Cows, but most of Horses. At last I beheld several Animals in a Field, and one or two of the same kind sitting in Trees. Their Shape was very singular, and deformed, which a little discomposed me, so that I lay down behind a Thicket to observe them better. Some of them coming forward near the place where I lay, gave me an Opportunity of distinctly marking their Form. Their Heads and Breasts were covered with a thick Hair, some frizled and others lank, they had Beards like Goats, and a long ridge of Hair down their Backs, and the fore-parts of their Legs and Feet, but the rest of their Bodies were bare, so that I might see their Skins, which were of a brown buff Colour. They had no Tails, nor any Hair at all on their Buttocks, except about the *Anus*; which, I presume, Nature had placed there to defend them as they sate on the Ground; for this Posture they used, as well as lying down, and often stood on their

 hind

hind Feet. They climbed high Trees, as nimbly as a Squirrel, for they had strong extended Claws before and behind, terminating in sharp points, hooked. They would often spring, and bound, and leap with prodigious Agility. The Females were not so large as the Males, they had long lank Hair on their Faces, nor any thing more than a sort of Down on the rest of their Bodies, except about the *Anus*, and Pudenda. Their Dugs hung between their Fore-feet, and often reached almost to the Ground as they walked. The Hair of both Sexes was of several Colours, brown, red, black and yellow. Upon the whole, I never beheld in all my Travels so disagreeable an Animal, nor one against which I naturally conceived so strong an Antipathy. So that thinking I had seen enough, full of Contempt and Aversion, I got up and pursued the beaten Road, hoping it might direct me to the Cabbin of some *Indian*. I had not gone far when I met one of these Creatures full in my way, and coming up directly to me. The ugly Monster, when he saw me, distorted several ways every Feature of his Visage, and stared as at an Object he had never seen before; then approaching nearer, lifted up his Fore-paw, whether out of Curiosity or Mischief, I could not tell. But I drew my Hanger, and gave him a good Blow with the flat Side of it, for I durst not strike with the Edge, fearing the Inhabitants might be provoked against me, if they should come to know, that I had killed or maimed any of their Cattle. When the Beast felt the Smart, he drew back, and roared so loud, that a Herd of at least forty came flocking about me from the next Field, houling and making odious Faces; but I ran to the Body of a Tree, and leaning my Back against it, kept them off,

 by

by waving my Hanger. Several of this cursed Brood getting hold of the Branches behind leapt up in the Tree, from whence they began to discharge their Excrements on my Head: However, I escaped pretty well, by sticking close to the Stem of the Tree, but was almost stifled with the Filth, which fell about me on every side.

IN the midst of this Distress, I observed them all to run away on a sudden as fast as they could, at which I ventured to leave the Tree, and pursue the Road, wondring what it was that could put them into this Fright. But looking on my Left-hand, I saw a Horse walking softly in the Field: which my Persecutors having sooner discovered, was the Cause of their Flight. The Horse started a little when he came near me, but soon recovering himself, looked full in my Face with manifest Tokens of Wonder: He viewed my Hands and Feet, walking round me several times. I would have pursued my Journey, but he placed himself directly in the Way, yet looking with a very mild Aspect, never offering the least Violence. We stood gazing at each other for some time; at last I took the Boldness, to reach my Hand towards his Neck, with a Design to stroak it, using the common Style and Whistle of Jockies when they are going to handle a strange Horse. But this Animal seeming to receive my Civilities with Disdain shook his Head, and bent his Brows, softly raising up his right Fore-foot to remove my Hand. Then he neighed three or four times, but in so different a Cadence, that I almost began to think he was speaking to himself in some Language of his own.

While He and I were thus employed, another Horse came up; who applying himself to the first in a very formal Manner, they gently struck each others right Hoof before, neighing several times by Turns, and varying the Sound, which seemed to be almost articulate. They went some Paces off, as if it were to confer together, walking Side by Side, backward and forward, like Persons deliberating upon some Affair of Weight, but often turning their Eyes towards me, as it were to watch that I might not escape. I was amazed to see such Actions and Behaviour in Brute Beasts, and concluded with myself, that if the Inhabitants of this Country were endued with a proportionable Degree of Reason, they must needs be the wisest People upon Earth. This Thought gave me so much Comfort, that I resolved to go forward untill I could discover some House or Village, or meet with any of the Natives, leaving the two Horses to discourse together as they pleased. But the first, who was a Dapple-Gray, observing me to steal off, neighed after me in so expressive a Tone, that I fancied myself to understand what he meant; whereupon I turned back, and came near him, to expect his farther Commands. But concealing my Fear as much as I could, for I began to be in some Pain, how this Adventure might terminate; and the Reader will easily believe I did not much like my present Situation.

The two Horses came up close to me, looking with great Earnestness upon my Face and Hands. The grey Steed rubbed my Hat all round with his right Forehoof, and discomposed it so much, that I was forced to adjust it better, by taking it off, and setling it again;

 whereat

whereat both he and his Companion (who was a brown Bay) appeared to be much surprized, the latter felt the Lappet of my Coat, and finding it to hang loose about me, they both looked with new Signs of Wonder. He stroked my Right-hand, seeming to admire the Softness, and Colour; but he squeezed it so hard between his Hoof and his Pastern, that I was forced to roar; after which they both touched me with all possible Tenderness. They were under great Perplexity about my Shoes and Stockings, which they felt very often, neighing to each other, and using various Gestures, not unlike those of a Philosopher, when he would attempt to solve some new and difficult Phænomenon.

UPON the whole, the Behaviour of these Animals was so orderly and rational, so acute and judicious, that I at last concluded, they must needs be Magicians, who had thus metamorphosed themselves upon some design, and seeing a Stranger in the way, were resolved to divert themselves with him; or perhaps were really amazed at the sight of a Man so very different in Habit, Feature and Complexion from those who might probably live in so remote a Climate. Upon the strength of this Reasoning, I ventured to address them in the following manner: Gentlemen, if you be Conjurers, as I have good Cause to believe, you can understand any Language; therefore I make bold to let your Worships know, that I am a poor distressed *English* Man, driven by his misfortunes upon your Coast, and I entreat one of you, to let me ride upon his Back, as if he were a real Horse, to some House or Village, where I can be relieved. In return of which Favour, I

 will

will make you a Present of this Knife and Bracelet, (taking them out of my Pocket.) The two Creatures stood silent while I spoke, seeming to listen with great Attention; and when I had ended, they neighed frequently towards each other, as if they were engaged in serious Conversation. I plainly observed, that their Language expressed the Passions very well, and the words might with little Pains be resolved into an Alphabet more easily than the *Chinese*.

I COULD frequently distinguish the word *Yahoo*, which was repeated by each of them several times; and altho' it was impossible for me to conjecture what it meant, yet while the two Horses were busy in Conversation, I endeavoured to practice this Word upon my Tongue; and as soon as they were silent, I boldly pronounced *Yahoo* in a loud Voice, imitating, at the same time, as near as I could, the Neighing of a Horse; at which they were both visibly surprized, and the Grey repeated the same Word twice, as if he meant to teach me the right Accent, wherein I spoke after him as well as I could, and found myself perceivably to improve every time, though very far from any Degree of Perfection. Then the Bay tried me with a second Word, much harder to be pronounced; but reducing it to the *English Orthography*, may be spelt thus, *Houyhnhnm*. I did not succeed in this so well as the former, but after two or three farther Trials, I had better fortune; and they both appeared amazed at my Capacity.

AFTER some farther Discourse, which I then conjectured might relate to me, the two Friends took their

 leaves,

leaves, with the same Compliment of striking each other's Hoof; and the Gray made me signs that I should walk before them, wherein I thought it prudent to comply, till I could find a better Director. When I offered to slacken my Pace, he would cry *Hhuun*, *Hhuun*; I guessed his meaning, and gave him to understand, as well as I could, that I was weary, and not able to walk faster; upon which, he would stand a while to let me rest.

CHAP. II

The Author conducted by a Houyhnhnm *to his House. The House described. The Author's Reception. The Food of the* Houyhnhnms. *The Author in Distress for want of Meat, is at last relieved. His Manner of feeding in this Country.*

HAVING travelled about three Miles, we came to a long kind of Building, made of Timber, stuck in the Ground, and wattled a-cross; the Roof was low, and covered with Straw. I now began to be a little comforted, and took out some Toys, which Travellers usually carry for Presents to the Savage *Indians* of *America* and other Parts, in hopes the People of the House would be thereby encouraged to receive me kindly. The Horse made me a sign to go in first; it was a large Room with a smooth Clay Floor, and a Rack and Manger extending the whole length on one side. There were three Nags, and two Mares, not eating, but some of them sitting down upon their Hams, which I very much wondered at; but wondered more to see the rest employed in domestick Business. They seemed but ordinary Cattle, however this confirmed my first Opinion, that a People who could so far civilize brute Animals, must needs excel in Wisdom all the Nations of the World. The Gray came in just after, and thereby prevented any ill Treatment, which the others might have given me. He neighed to them

several times in a style of Authority, and received Answers.

BEYOND this Room there were three others, reaching the length of the House, to which you passed through three Doors, opposite to each other, in the manner of a Vista; we went through the second Room towards the third, here the Gray walked in first, beckoning me to attend: I waited in the second Room, and got ready my Presents, for the Master and Mistress of the House: They were two Knives, three Bracelets of false Pearl, a small Looking-glass, and a Bead Necklace. The Horse neighed three or four times, and I waited to hear some Answers in a human Voice, but I observed no other Returns, than in the same Dialect, only one or two a little shriller, than his. I began to think that this House must belong to some Person of great Note among them, because there appeared so much Ceremony before I could gain Admittance. But, that a Man of Quality should be served all by Horses, was beyond my Comprehension. I feared my Brain was disturbed by my Sufferings and Misfortunes: I roused my self, and looked about me in the Room where I was left alone; this was furnished like the first, only after a more elegant manner. I rubbed my Eyes often, but the same Objects still occurred. I pinched my Arms and Sides, to awake myself, hoping I might be in a Dream. I then absolutely concluded, that all these Appearances could be nothing else but Necromancy and Magick. But I had no time to pursue these Reflections; for the Gray Horse came to the Door, and made me a sign to follow him into the third Room, where I saw a very comely Mare, together with a Colt and Fole,

 sitting

sitting on their Haunches, upon Matts of Straw, not unartfully made, and perfectly neat and clean.

THE Mare soon after my Entrance, rose from her Matt, and coming up close, after having nicely observed my Hands and Face, gave me a most contemptuous Look; then turning to the Horse, I heard the word *Yahoo* often repeated betwixt them; the meaning of which word I could not then comprehend, although it were the first I had learned to pronounce; but I was soon better informed, to my everlasting Mortification: For the Horse beckning to me with his Head, and repeating the word *Hhuun*, *Hhuun*, as he did upon the Road, which I understood was to attend him, led me out into a kind of Court, where was another Building at some Distance from the House. Here we enter'd, and I saw three of these detestable Creatures, whom I first met after my Landing, feeding upon Roots, and the Flesh of some Animals, which I afterwards found to be that of Asses and Dogs, and now and then a Cow dead by Accident or Disease. They were all tyed by the Neck with strong Wyths, fastened to a Beam; they held their Food between the Claws of their Fore-feet, and tore it with their Teeth.

THE Master Horse ordered a Sorrel Nag, one of his Servants, to untie the largest of these Animals, and take him into the Yard. The Beast and I were brought close together; and our Countenances diligently compared, both by Master and Servant, who thereupon repeated several times the word *Yahoo*. My Horror and Astonishment are not to be described, when I observed, in this abominable Animal, a perfect human

Figure; the Face of it indeed was flat and broad, the Nose depressed, the Lips large, and the Mouth wide. But these Differences are common to all Savage Nations, where the Lineaments of the Countenance are distorted by the Natives suffering their Infants to lie grovelling on the Earth, or by carrying them on their Backs, nuzzling with their Face against the Mother's Shoulders. The Fore-feet of the *Yahoo* differed from my Hands in nothing else, but the Length of the Nails, the Coarseness and Brownness of the Palms, and the Hairiness on the Backs. There was the same Resemblance between our Feet, with the same Differences, which I knew very well, tho' the Horses did not, because of my Shoes and Stockings; the same in every Part of our Bodies, except as to Hairiness and Colour, which I have already described.

THE great Difficulty that seemed to stick with the two Horses, was, to see the rest of my Body so very different from that of a *Yahoo*, for which I was obliged to my Cloaths, whereof they had no Conception: The Sorrel Nag offered me a Root, which he held (after their manner, as we shall describe in its proper place) between his Hoof and Pastern; I took it in my Hand, and having smelt it, returned it to him again as civilly as I could. He brought out of the *Yahoo's* Kennel a piece of Ass's Flesh, but it smelt so offensively that I turned from it with loathing, he then threw it to the *Yahoo*, by whom it was greedily devoured. He afterwards shewed me a Whisp of Hay, and a Fettlock full of Oats; but I shook my Head, to signify, that neither of these were Food for me. And indeed, I now apprehended, that I must absolutely starve, if I did not get

to some of my own Species: For as to those filthy *Yahoos*, although there were few greater Lovers of Mankind, at that time, than myself; yet I confess I never saw any sensitive Being so detestable on all accounts; and the more I came near them, the more hateful they grew, while I stayed in that Country. This the Master Horse observed by my Behaviour, and therefore sent the *Yahoo* back to his Kennel. He then put his Fore-hoof to his Mouth, at which I was much surprized, although he did it with ease, and with a Motion that appeared perfectly natural, and made other signs to know what I would eat; but I could not return him such an Answer as he was able to apprehend; and if he had understood me, I did not see how it was possible to contrive any way for finding myself Nourishment. While we were thus engaged, I observed a Cow passing by, whereupon I pointed to her, and expressed a Desire to let me go and milk her. This had its effect; for he led me back into the House, and ordered a Mare-servant to open a Room, where a good store of Milk lay in Earthen and Wooden Vessels, after a very orderly and cleanly manner. She gave me a large Bowl full, of which I drank very heartily, and found myself well refreshed.

About Noon I saw coming towards the House a kind of Vehicle drawn like a Sledge by four *Yahoos*. There was in it an old Steed, who seemed to be of Quality, he alighted with his Hind-feet forward, having by Accident got a Hurt in his left Fore-foot. He came to dine with our Horse, who received him with great Civility. They dined in the best Room, and had Oats boiled in Milk for the second Course, which the old

Horse eat warm, but the rest cold. Their Mangers were placed circular in the middle of the Room, and divided into several Partitions, round which they sat on their Haunches upon Bosses of Straw. In the middle was a large Rack with Angles answering to every Partition of the Manger. So that each Horse and Mare eat their own Hay, and their own Mash of Oats and Milk, with much Decency and Regularity. The Behaviour of the young Colt and Fole appeared very modest, and that of the Master and Mistress extremely chearful and complaisant to their Guest. The Gray ordered me to stand by him, and much Discourse passed between him and his Friend concerning me, as I found by the Stranger's often looking on me, and the frequent Repetition of the word *Yahoo*.

I HAPPENED to wear my Gloves, which the Master-Gray observing, seemed perplexed, discovering signs of Wonder what I had done to my Fore-feet; he put his Hoof three or four times to them, as if he would signify, that I should reduce them to their former shape, which I presently did, pulling off both my Gloves, and putting them into my Pocket. This occasioned farther Talk, and I saw the Company was pleased with my Behaviour, whereof I soon found the good Effects. I was ordered to speak the few words I understood, and while they were at Dinner, the Master taught me the Names for Oats, Milk, Fire, Water, and some others; which I could readily pronounce after him, having from my Youth a great Facility in learning Languages.

WHEN Dinner was done, the Master Horse took me aside, and by signs and words made me understand

the Concern that he was in, that I had nothing to eat. Oats in their Tongue are called *Hlunnh.* This Word I pronounced two or three times; for although I had refused them at first, yet upon second Thoughts, I considered that I could contrive to make of them a kind of Bread, which might be sufficient with Milk to keep me alive, till I could make my Escape to some other Country, and to Creatures of my own Species. The Horse immediately ordered a White Mare-servant of his Family to bring me a good Quantity of Oats in a sort of wooden Tray. These I heated before the Fire as well as I could, and rubbed them till the Husks came off, which I made a shift to winnow from the Grain; I ground and beat them between two Stones, then took Water, and made them into a Paste or Cake, which I toasted at the Fire, and eat warm with Milk. It was at first a very insipid Diet, though common enough in many Parts of *Europe,* but grew tolerable by Time; and having been often reduced to hard Fare in my Life, this was not the first Experiment I had made how easily Nature is satisfied. And I cannot but observe, that I never had one Hour's Sickness, while I staid in this Island. 'Tis true, I sometimes made a shift to catch a Rabbet, or Bird, by Springes made of *Yahoos* Hairs, and I often gathered wholesome Herbs, which I boiled, or eat as Salades with my Bread, and now and then, for a Rarity, I made a little Butter, and drank the Whey. I was at first at a great loss for Salt; but Custom soon reconciled the Want of it; and I am confident that the frequent use of Salt among us is an Effect of Luxury, and was first introduced only as a Provocative to Drink; except where it is necessary for preserving of Flesh in long Voyages, or in Places

 remote

remote from great Markets. For we observe no Animal to be fond of it but Man: And as to myself, when I left this Country, it was a great while before I could endure the Taste of it in any thing that I eat.

THIS is enough to say upon the Subject of my Dyet, wherewith other Travellers fill their Books, as if the Readers were personally concerned, whether we fare well or ill. However, it was necessary to mention this Matter, lest the World should think it impossible that I could find Sustenance for three Years in such a Country, and among such Inhabitants.

WHEN it grew towards Evening, the Master Horse ordered a Place for me to lodge in; it was but Six Yards from the House, and separated from the Stable of the *Yahoos*. Here I got some Straw, and covering myself with my own Cloaths, slept very sound. But I was in a short time better accommodated, as the Reader shall know hereafter, when I come to treat more particularly about my way of living.

CHAP. III

The Author studious to learn the Language, the Houyhnhnm *his Master assists in teaching him. The Language described. Several* Houyhnhnms *of Quality come out of Curiosity to see the Author. He gives his Master a short Account of his Voyage.*

MY principal Endeavour was to learn the Language, which my Master (for so I shall henceforth call him) and his Children, and every Servant of his House were desirous to teach me. For they looked upon it as a Prodigy that a brute Animal should discover such Marks of a rational Creature. I pointed to every thing, and enquired the Name of it, which I wrote down in my *Journal-Book* when I was alone, and corrected my bad Accent, by desiring those of the Family to pronounce it often. In this Employment, a Sorrel Nag, one of the under Servants, was very ready to assist me.

IN speaking, they pronounce through the Nose and Throat, and their Language approaches nearest to the *High-Dutch* or *German*, of any I know in *Europe*; but is much more graceful and significant. The Emperor *Charles* V. made almost the same Observation, when he said, That if he were to speak to his Horse, it should be in *High-Dutch*.

THE Curiosity and Impatience of my Master were so great, that he spent many Hours of his Leisure to

 instruct

instruct me. He was convinced (as he afterwards told me) that I must be a *Yahoo*, but my Teachableness, Civility and Cleanliness astonished him; which were Qualities altogether so opposite to those Animals. He was most perplexed about my Cloaths, reasoning sometimes with himself, whether they were a part of my Body: for I never pulled them off till the Family were asleep, and got them on before they waked in the Morning. My Master was eager to learn from whence I came, how I acquired those Appearances of Reason, which I discovered in all my Actions, and to know my Story from my own Mouth, which he hoped he should soon do by the great Proficiency I made in learning and pronouncing their Words and Sentences. To help my Memory, I formed all I learned into the *English* Alphabet, and writ the Words down with the Translations. This last, after some time, I ventured to do in my Master's Presence. It cost me much Trouble to explain to him what I was doing; for the Inhabitants have not the least Idea of Books or Literature.

IN about ten Weeks time I was able to understand most of his Questions, and in three Months could give him some tolerable Answers. He was extremely curious to know from what Part of the Country I came, and how I was taught to imitate a rational Creature, because the *Yahoos*, (whom he saw I exactly resembled in my Head, Hands and Face, that were only visible,) with some appearance of Cunning, and the strongest Disposition to Mischief, were observed to be the most unteachable of all Brutes. I answered, That I came over the Sea, from a far Place, with many others of my own Kind, in a great hollow Vessel made of the

 Bodies

Bodies of Trees. That my Companions forced me to land on this Coast, and then left me to shift for myself. It was with some Difficulty, and by the help of many Signs, that I brought him to understand me. He replied, That I must needs be mistaken, or that I *said the thing which was not.* (For they have no Word in their Language to express Lying or Falsehood.) He knew it was impossible that there could be a Country beyond the Sea, or that a parcel of Brutes could move a wooden Vessel whither they pleased upon Water. He was sure no *Houyhnhnm* alive could make such a Vessel, nor would trust *Yahoos* to manage it.

THE Word *Houyhnhnm*, in their Tongue, signifies a *Horse*, and in its Etymology, *the Perfection of Nature.* I told my Master, that I was at a loss for Expression, but would improve as fast as I could; and hoped in a short time I should be able to tell him Wonders: He was pleased to direct his own Mare, his Colt and Fole, and the Servants of the Family to take all Opportunities of instructing me, and every Day for two or three Hours, he was at the same Pains himself: Several Horses and Mares of Quality in the Neighbourhood came often to our House upon the Report spread of a wonderful *Yahoo*, that could speak like a *Houyhnhnm*, and seemed in his Words and Actions to discover some Glimmerings of Reason. These delighted to converse with me; they put many Questions, and received such Answers, as I was able to return. By all these Advantages, I made so great a Progress, that in five Months from my Arrival, I understood whatever was spoke, and could express myself tolerably well.

THE *Houyhnhnms* who came to visit my Master, out of a Design of seeing and talking with me, could hardly believe me to be a right *Yahoo*, because my Body had a different Covering from others of my Kind. They were astonished to observe me without the usual Hair or Skin, except on my Head, Face and Hands; but I discovered that Secret to my Master, upon an Accident, which happened about a Fortnight before.

I HAVE already told the Reader, that every Night when the Family were gone to Bed, it was my Custom, to strip and cover myself with my Cloaths: It happened one Morning early, that my Master sent for me, by the Sorrel Nag, who was his Valet; when he came, I was fast asleep, my Cloaths fallen off on one side, and my Shirt above my Waste. I awaked at the Noise he made, and observed him to deliver his Message in some Disorder; after which he went to my Master, and in a great Fright gave him a very confused Account of what he had seen: This I presently discovered; for going as soon as I was dressed, to pay my Attendance upon his Honour, he asked me the meaning of what his Servant had reported, that I was not the same Thing when I slept as I appeared to be at other times; that his Valet assured him, some part of me was White, some Yellow, at least not so White, and some Brown.

I HAD hitherto concealed the Secret of my Dress, in order to distinguish myself as much as possible, from that cursed Race of *Yahoos*; but now I found it in vain to do so any longer. Besides, I considered that my Cloaths and Shoes would soon wear out, which already were in a declining Condition, and must be supplied

 by

by some Contrivance from the Hides of *Yahoos* or other Brutes; whereby the whole Secret would be known: I therefore told my Master, That in the Country from whence I came, those of my kind always covered their Bodies with the Hairs of certain Animals prepared by Art, as well for Decency, as to avoid the Inclemencies of Air both hot and cold; of which, as to my own Person I would give him immediate Conviction, if he pleased to command me; only desiring his Excuse, if I did not expose those Parts, that Nature taught us to conceal. He said my Discourse was all very strange, but especially the last part; for he could not understand why Nature should teach us to conceal what Nature had given. That neither himself nor Family were ashamed of any Parts of their Bodies; but however I might do as I pleased. Whereupon, I first unbuttoned my Coat, and pulled it off. I did the same with my Waste-coat; I drew off my Shoes, Stockings and Breeches. I let my Shirt down to my Waste, and drew up the Bottom, fastning it like a Girdle about my middle to hide my Nakedness.

My Master observed the whole Performance with great Signs of Curiosity and Admiration. He took up all my Cloaths in his Pastern, one Piece after another, and examined them diligently; he then stroaked my Body very gently, and looked round me several times, after which he said, it was plain I must be a perfect *Yahoo*; but that I differed very much from the rest of my Species, in the Softness, and Whiteness, and Smoothness of my Skin, my want of Hair in several Parts of my Body, the shape and shortness of my Claws behind and before, and my affectation of walking con-

 tinually

tinually on my two Hinder-feet. He desired to see no more, and gave me leave to put on my Cloaths again, for I was shuddering with Cold.

I EXPRESSED my uneasiness at his giving me so often the Appellation of *Yahoo*, an odious Animal, for which I had so utter a Hatred and Contempt, I begged he would forbear applying that Word to me, and take the same Order in his Family, and among his Friends whom he suffered to see me. I requested likewise, that the Secret of having a false Covering to my Body might be known to none but Himself, at least as long as my present Cloathing should last; for, as to what the Sorrel Nag his Valet had observed, his Honour might command him to conceal it.

ALL This my Master very graciously consented to, and thus the Secret was kept till my Cloaths began to wear out, which I was forced to supply by several Contrivances, that shall hereafter be mentioned. In the mean time, he desired I would go on with my utmost Diligence to learn their Language, because he was more astonished at my Capacity for Speech and Reason, than at the Figure of my Body, whether it were covered or no; adding, that he waited with some Impatience to hear the Wonders which I promised to tell him.

FROM thenceforward he doubled the Pains he had been at to instruct me; he brought me into all Company, and made them treat me with Civility, because, as he told them privately, this would put me into good Humour, and make me more diverting.

EVERY Day when I waited on him, beside the Trouble he was at in teaching, he would ask me several Questions concerning myself, which I answered as well as I could; and by these means he had already received some general Ideas, though very imperfect. It would be tedious to relate the several Steps by which I advanced to a more regular Conversation: But the first Account I gave of myself in any Order and Length, was to this purpose:

THAT I came from a very far Country, as I already had attempted to tell him, with about fifty more of my own Species; that we travelled upon the Seas, in a great hollow Vessel made of Wood, and larger than his Honour's House. I described the Ship to him in the best terms I could, and explained by the help of my Handkercheif displayed, how it was driven forward by the Wind. That upon a Quarrel among us, I was set on shore on this Coast, where I walked forward without knowing whither, till he delivered me from the Persecution of those execrable *Yahoos*. He asked me, Who made the Ship, and how it was possible that the *Houyhnhnms* of my Country would leave it to the Management of Brutes? My Answer was, That I durst proceed no farther in my Relation, unless he would give me his Word and Honour that he would not be offended, and then I would tell him the Wonders I had so often promised. He agreed; and I went on by assuring him, that the Ship was made by Creatures like myself, who in all the Countries I had travelled, as well as in my own, were the only governing, rational Animals; and that upon my Arrival hither, I was as much astonished to see the *Houyhnhnms*

act like rational Beings, as he or his Friends could be in finding some Marks of Reason in a Creature he was pleased to call a *Yahoo*, to which I owned my Resemblance in every Part, but could not account for their degenerate and brutal Nature. I said farther, That if good Fortune ever restored me to my native Country, to relate my Travels hither, as I resolved to do, every body would believe that I *said the Thing which was not;* that I invented the Story out of my own Head; and with all possible respect to Himself, his Family and Friends, and under his Promise of not being offended, our Countrymen would hardly think it probable, that a *Houyhnhnm* should be the presiding Creature of a Nation, and a *Yahoo* the Brute.

CHAP. IV

The Houyhnhnms *Notion of Truth and Falshood. The Author's Discourse disapproved by his Master. The Author gives a more particular Account of himself, and the Accidents of his Voyage.*

MY Master heard me with great appearances of Uneasiness in his Countenance, because *Doubting* or *not believing*, are so little known in this Country, that the Inhabitants cannot tell how to behave themselves under such Circumstances. And I remember in frequent Discourses with my Master concerning the Nature of Manhood, in other Parts of the World, having occasion to talk of *Lying*, and *false Representation*, it was with much Difficulty that he comprehended what I meant, although he had otherwise a most acute Judgment. For he argued thus; That the Use of Speech was to make us understand one another, and to receive Information of Facts; now if any one *said the Thing which was not*, these Ends were defeated; because I cannot properly be said to understand him, and I am so far from receiving Information, that he leaves me worse than in Ignorance, for I am led to believe a Thing *Black* when it is *White*, and *Short* when it is *Long*. And these were all the Notions he had concerning that Faculty of *Lying*, so perfectly well understood among human Creatures.

To return from this Digression; when I asserted that the *Yahoos* were the only governing Animals in my Country, which my Master said was altogether past his Conception, he desired to know, whether we had *Houyhnhnms* among us, and what was their Employment: I told him, we had great Numbers, that in Summer they grazed in the Fields, and in Winter were kept in Houses, with Hay and Oats, when *Yahoo*-Servants were employed to rub their Skins smooth, comb their Manes, pick their Feet, serve them with Food, and make their Beds. I understand you well, said my Master it is now very plain, from all you have spoken, that whatever share of Reason the *Yahoos* pretend to, the *Houyhnhnms* are your Masters; I heartily wish our *Yahoos* would be so tractable. I begged his Honour would please to excuse me from proceeding any farther, because I was very certain that the Account he expected from me would be highly displeasing. But he insisted in commanding me to let him know the best and the worst: I told him, he should be obeyed. I owned, that the *Houyhnhnms* among us, whom we called *Horses*, were the most generous and comely Animal we had, that they excelled in Strength and Swiftness; and when they belonged to Persons of Quality, employed in Travelling, Racing, or drawing Chariots, they were treated with much Kindness and Care, till they fell into Diseases, or became foundred in the Feet; and then they were sold, and used to all kind of Drudgery till they died; after which their Skins were stripped and sold for what they were worth, and their Bodies left to be devoured by Dogs and Birds of Prey. But the common Race of Horses had not so good Fortune, being kept by Farmers and Carriers

 and

and other mean People, who put them to greater Labour, and fed them worse. I described as well as I could, our way of Riding, the shape and use of a Bridle, a Saddle, a Spur, and a Whip, of Harness and Wheels. I added, that we fastned Plates of a certain hard Substance called *Iron* at the Bottom of their Feet, to preserve their Hoofs from being broken by the stony Ways on which we often travelled.

My Master, after some Expressions of great Indignation, wondered how we dared to venture upon a *Houyhnhnm's* Back, for he was sure, that the meanest Servant in his House would be able to shake off the strongest *Yahoo*, or by lying down, and rouling on his Back, squeeze the Brute to Death. I answered, That our Horses were trained up from three or four Years old to the several Uses we intended them for; That if any of them proved intolerably vicious, they were employed for Carriages; that they were severely beaten while they were young, for any mischievous Tricks: That the Males, designed for common Use of Riding or Draught, were generally *castrated* about two Years after their Birth, to take down their Spirits, and make them more tame and gentle; that they were indeed sensible of Rewards and Punishments; but his Honour would please to consider, that they had not the least Tincture of Reason any more than the *Yahoos* in this Country.

It put me to the Pains of many Circumlocutions to give my Master a right Idea of what I spoke; for their Language doth not abound in Variety of Words, be-

cause their Wants and Passions are fewer than among us. But it is impossible to represent his noble Resentment at our savage Treatment of the *Houyhnhnm* Race, particularly after I had explained the Manner and Use of *Castrating* Horses among us, to hinder them from propagating their Kind, and to render them more servile. He said, if it were possible there could be any Country where *Yahoos* alone were endued with Reason, they certainly must be the governing Animal, because reason will in Time always prevail against Brutal Strength. But, considering the Frame of our Bodies, and especially of mine, he thought no Creature of equal Bulk was so ill contrived, for employing that Reason in the common Office of Life; whereupon he desired to know whether those among whom I lived, resembled me or the *Yahoos* of his Country. I assured him, that I was as well shaped as most of my Age: but the younger and the Females were much more soft and tender, and the Skins of the latter generally as white as Milk. He said, I differed indeed from other *Yahoos*, being much more cleanly, and not altogether so deformed, but in point of real Advantage, he thought I differed for the worse. That my Nails were of no Use either to my Fore or Hinder-Feet; As to my Fore-feet he could not properly call them by that Name, for he never observed me to walk upon them; that they were too soft to bear the Ground; that I generally went with them uncovered, neither was the Covering I sometimes wore on them, of the same Shape, or so strong as that on my Feet behind. That I could not walk with any Security, for if either of my Hinder-Feet slipped, I must inevitably fall. He then began to find fault with other Parts of my Body, the Flatness

 of

of my Face, the Prominence of my Nose, mine Eyes placed directly in Front, so that I could not look on either Side without turning my Head: That I was not able to feed myself, without lifting my Fore-feet to my Mouth: And therefore Nature had placed those Joynts to answer that Necessity. He knew not what could be the Use of those several Clefts and Divisions in my Feet behind, that these were too soft to bear the Hardness and Sharpness of Stones without a Covering made from the Skin of some other Brute; that my whole Body wanted a Fence against Heat and Cold, which I was forced to put on and off every Day with Tediousness and Trouble. And lastly, that he observed every Animal in this Country naturally to abhor the *Yahoos*, whom the Weaker avoided, and the Stronger drove from them. So that supposing us to have the Gift of Reason, he could not see how it were possible to cure that natural Antipathy which every Creature discovered against us; nor consequently, how we could tame and render them serviceable. However, he would (as he said) debate the Matter no farther, because he was more desirous to know my own Story, the Country where I was born, and the several Actions and Events of my Life before I came hither.

I ASSURED him, how extremely desirous I was that he should be satisfied in every Point; but I doubted much, whether it would be possible for me to explain myself on several Subjects whereof his Honour could have no Conception, because I saw nothing in his Country to which I could resemble them. That however, I would do my best, and strive to express myself by Similitudes, humbly desiring his Assistance when

I wanted proper Words; which he was pleased to promise me.

I SAID, my Birth was of honest Parents, in an Island called *England*, which was remote from this Country, as many Days Journey as the strongest of his Honour's Servants could travel in the Annual Course of the Sun. That I was bred a Surgeon, whose Trade is to cure Wounds and Hurts in the Body, got by Accident or Violence; that my Country was governed by a Female Man, whom we called *Queen*. That I left it to get Riches, whereby I might maintain myself and Family when I should return. That in my last Voyage, I was Commander of the Ship, and had about fifty *Yahoos* under me, many of which died at Sea, and I was forced to supply them by others picked out from several Nations. That our Ship was twice in Danger of being sunk; the first time by a great Storm, and the second, by striking against a Rock. Here my Master interposed, by asking me, How I could persuade Strangers out of different Countries to venture with me, after the Losses I had sustained, and the Hazards I had run. I said, they were Fellows of desperate Fortunes forced to fly from the Places of their Birth, on account of their Poverty or their Crimes. Some were undone by Law-suits; others spent all they had in Drinking, Whoring and Gaming; others fled for Treason; many for Murder, Theft, Poysoning, Robbery, Perjury, Forgery, Coining false Money, for committing Rapes or Sodomy, for flying from their Colours, or deserting to the Enemy, and most of them had broken Prison; none of these durst return to their Native Countries for fear of being hanged, or of starv-

 ing

ing in a Jail; and therefore were under a necessity of seeking a Livelihood in other Places.

During this Discourse, my Master was pleased to interrupt me several Times; I had made use of many Circumlocutions in describing to him the Nature of the several Crimes, for which most of our Crew had been forced to fly their Country. This Labour took up several Days Conversation before he was able to comprehend me. He was wholly at a Loss to know what could be the Use or Necessity of Practising those Vices. To clear up which I endeavoured to give some Ideas of the Desire of Power and Riches, of the terrible Effects of Lust, Intemperance, Malice and Envy. All this I was forced to define and describe by putting of Cases, and making of Suppositions. After which, like one whose Imagination was struck with something never seen or heard of before, he would lift up his Eyes with Amazement and Indignation. Power, Government, War, Law, Punishment, and a Thousand other Things had no Terms, wherein that Language could express them, which made the Difficulty almost insuperable to give my Master any Conception of what I meant. But being of an excellent Understanding, much improved by Contemplation and Converse, he at last arrived at a competent Knowledge of what Human Nature in our Parts of the World is capable to perform, and desired I would give him some particular Account of that Land, which we call *Europe*, but especially of my own Country.

CHAP. V

The Author at his Master's Commands informs him of the State of England. *The Causes of War among the Princes of* Europe. *The Author begins to explain the* English *Constitution.*

THE Reader may please to observe, that the following Extract of many Conversations I had with my Master, contains a Summary of the most material Points, of which were discoursed at several times for above Two Years; his Honour often desiring fuller Satisfaction as I farther improved in the *Houyhnhnm* Tongue. I laid before him, as well as I could, the whole state of *Europe*; I discoursed of Trade and Manufactures, of Arts and Sciences; and the Answers I gave to all the Questions he made, as they arose upon several Subjects, were a Fund of Conversation not to be exhausted. But I shall here only set down the Substance of what passed between us concerning my own Country, reducing it into Order as well as I can, without any Regard to Time or other Circumstances, while I strictly adhere to Truth. My only Concern is, that I shall hardly be able to do Justice to my Master's Arguments and Expressions, which must needs suffer by my want of capacity, as well as by a Translation into our barbarous *English*.

IN Obedience therefore to his Honour's Commands, I related to him the *Revolution* under the Prince of

Orange,

Orange, the long War with *France* entered into by the said Prince, and renewed by his Successor the present Queen, wherein the greatest Powers of *Christendom* were engaged, and which still continued: I computed at his Request, that about a Million of *Yahoos* might have been killed in the whole Progress of it, and perhaps a Hundred or more Cities taken, and thrice as many Ships burnt or sunk.

He asked me what were the usual Causes or Motives that made one Country go to War with another. I answered they were innumerable, but I should only mention a few of the chief. Sometimes the Ambition of Princes, who never think they have Land or People enough to govern: Sometimes the Corruption of Ministers, who engage their Master in a War in order to stifle or divert the Clamour of the Subjects against their Evil Administration. Difference in Opinions hath cost many Millions of Lives: For instance, whether *Flesh* be *Bread*, or *Bread* be *Flesh*; whether the Juice of a certain *Berry* be *Blood* or *Wine*; whether *Whistling* be a Vice or a Virtue; whether it be better to *kiss a Post*, or throw it into the Fire; what is the best Colour for a *Coat*, whether *Black*, *White*, *Red* or *Gray*; and whether it should be *long* or *short*, *narrow* or *wide*, *dirty* or *clean*, with many more. Neither are any Wars so furious and bloody, or of so long Continuance, as those occasioned by Difference in Opinion, especially if it be in things indifferent.

Sometimes the Quarrel between two Princes is to decide which of them shall dispossess a Third of his Dominions, where neither of them pretend to any

 Right.

Right. Sometimes one Prince quarrelleth with another, for fear the other should quarrel with him. Sometimes a War is entered upon, because the Enemy is too *strong*, and sometimes because he is too *weak*. Sometimes our Neighbours *want* the *Things* which we *have*, or *have* the Things which we *want*; and we both fight, till they take ours and give us theirs. It is a very justifiable Cause of War to invade a Country after the People have been wasted by Famine, destroyed by Pestilence, or embroiled by Factions amongst themselves. It is justifiable to enter into War against our nearest Ally, when one of his Towns lies convenient for us, or a Territory of Land, that would render our Dominions round and compleat. If a Prince sends Forces into a Nation, where the People are poor and ignorant, he may lawfully put half of them to Death, and make Slaves of the rest, in order to civilize and reduce them from their barbarous Way of Living. It is a very kingly, honourable, and frequent Practice, when one Prince desires the Assistance of another to secure him against an Invasion, that the Assistant, when he hath driven out the Invader, should seize on the Dominions himself, and kill, imprison or banish the Prince he came to relieve. Allyance by Blood or Marriage, is a frequent Cause of War between Princes, and the nearer the Kindred is, the greater is their Disposition to quarrel: *Poor* Nations are *hungry*, and *rich* Nations are *proud*; and Pride and Hunger will ever be at Variance. For those Reasons, the Trade of a *Soldier* is held the most honourable of all others: Because a *Soldier* is a *Yahoo* hired to kill in cold Blood as many of his own Species, who have never offended him, as possibly he can.

THERE are likewise another Kind of Princes in *Europe*, not able to make War by themselves, who hire out their Troops to richer Nations, for so much a Day to each Man; of which they keep three fourths to themselves, and it is the best part of their Maintenance; such are those in many *Northern* Parts of *Europe*.

WHAT you have told me, (said my Master) upon the Subject of War, does indeed discover most admirably the Effects of that Reason you pretend to: However it is happy that the *Shame* is greater than the *Danger*; and that Nature hath left you utterly uncapable of doing much Mischief.

FOR your Mouths lying flat with your Faces, you can hardly bite each other to any purpose, unless by Consent. Then as to the Claws upon your Feet before and behind, they are so short and tender, that one of our *Yahoos* would drive a Dozen of yours before him. And therefore in recounting the Numbers of those who have been killed in Battle, I cannot but think that you have *said the Thing which is not.*

I COULD not forbear shaking my Head and smiling a little at his Ignorance. And being no Stranger to the Art of War, I gave him a Description of Cannons, Culverins, Muskets, Carabines, Pistols, Bullets, Powder, Swords, Bayonets, Sieges, Retreats, Attacks, Undermines, Countermines, Bombardments, Sea-fights; Ships sunk with a Thousand Men, Twenty thousand killed on each Side; dying Groans, Limbs flying in the Air, Smoak, Noise, Confusion, Trampling to Death under Horses Feet; Flight, Pursuit, Victory; Fields

 strewed

strewed with Carcases left for Food to Dogs, and Wolves, and Birds of Prey; Plundering, Stripping, Ravishing, Burning and Destroying. And to set forth the Valor of my own dear Countrymen, I assured him, that I had seen them blow up a Hundred Enemies at once in a Siege, and as many in a Ship, and beheld the dead Bodies come down in pieces from the Clouds, to the great Diversion of the Spectators.

I WAS going on to more Particulars, when my Master commanded me Silence. He said, Whoever understood the Nature of *Yahoos* might easily believe it possible for so vile an Animal, to be capable of every Action I had named, if their Strength and Cunning equalled their Malice. But as my Discourse had increased his Abhorrence of the whole Species, so he found it gave him a Disturbance in his Mind, to which he was wholly a Stranger before. He thought his Ears being used to such abominable Words, might by Degrees admit them with less Detestation. That although he hated the *Yahoos* of this Country, yet he no more blamed them for their odious Qualities, than he did a *Gnnayh* (a Bird of Prey) for its Cruelty, or a sharp Stone for cutting my Hoof. But when a Creature pretending to Reason, could be capable of such Enormities, he dreaded lest the Corruption of that Faculty might be worse than Brutality itself. He seemed therefore confident, that instead of Reason, we were only possessed of some Quality fitted to increase our natural Vices; as the Reflection from a troubled Stream returns the Image of an ill-shapen Body, not only *larger*, but more *distorted*.

He added, That he had heard too much upon the Subject of War, both in this, and some former Discourses. There was another Point which a little perplexed him at present. I had informed him, that some of our Crew left their Country on account of being ruined by *Law*; that I had already explained the meaning of the Word; but he was at a Loss how it should come to pass, that the *Law* which was intended for *every* Man's Preservation, should be any Man's Ruin. Therefore he desired to be farther satisfied what I meant by *Law*, and what sort of Dispensers thereof it could be by whose Practices the Property of any Person could be lost, instead of being preserved. He added, he saw not what great Occasion there could be for this thing called *Law*, since all the Intentions and Purposes of it may be fully answered by following the Dictates of *Nature* and *Reason*, which are sufficient Guides for a Reasonable Animal, as we pretended to be, in shewing us what we ought to do, and what to avoid.

I assured his Honour, that *Law* was a Science wherein I had not much conversed, having little more Knowledge of it than what I had obtained by employing Advocates, in vain, upon some Injustices that had been done me, and by conversing with some others who by the same Method had first lost their Substance and then left their own Country under the Mortification of such Disappointments, however I would give him all the Satisfaction I was able.

I said that those who made profession of this Science were exceedingly multiplied, being almost equal to the Caterpillars in Number; that they were of diverse De-

 grees,

grees, Distinctions, and Denominations. The Numerousness of those that dedicated themselves to this Profession were such that the fair and justifiable Advantage and Income of the Profession was not sufficient for the decent and handsome Maintenance of Multitudes of those who followed it. Hence it came to pass that it was found needful to supply that by Artifice and Cunning, which could not be procured by just and honest Methods: The better to bring which about, very many Men among us were bred up from their Youth in the Art of proving by Words multiplied for the Purpose that *White* is *Black*, and *Black* is *White*, according as they are paid. The Greatness of these Mens Assurance and the Boldness of their Pretensions gained upon the Opinion of the Vulgar, whom in a Manner they made Slaves of, and got into their Hands much the largest Share of the Practice of their Profession. These Practitioners were by Men of Discernment called *Pettifoggers*, (that is, *Confounders*, or rather, *Destroyers of Right*,) as it was my ill Hap, as well as the Misfortune of my suffering Acquaintance to be engaged only with this Species of the Profession. I desired his Honour to understand the Description I had to give, and the Ruin I had complained of to relate to these Sectaries only, and how and by what means the Misfortunes we met with were brought upon us by the Management of these Men, might be more easily conceived by explaining to him their Method of Proceeding, which could not be better done than by giving him an Example.

My Neighbour, said I, I will suppose, has a mind to my *Cow*, he hires one of these Advocates to prove that

 he

he ought to have my *Cow* from me. I must then hire another of them to defend my Right, it being against all Rules of *Law* that any Man should be allowed to speak for himself. Now in this case, I who am the Right Owner lie under two great Disadvantages. First, my Advocate, being as I said before practised almost from his Cradle in defending Falshood, is quite out of his Element when he would argue for Right, which as an Office unnatural he attempts with great Awkwardness, if not with an Ill-will. The Second Disadvantage is that my Advocate must proceed with great Caution; for, since the Maintenance of so many depend on the keeping up of Business, should he proceed too summarily, if he does not incur the Displeasure of his Superiors, he is sure to gain the Ill-will and Hatred of his Brethren, as being by them esteemed one that would lessen the Practice of the Law. This being the Case, I have but two Methods to preserve my *Cow*. The first is, to gain over my Adversary's Advocate with a double Fee; from the Manner and Design of whose Education before mentioned it is easy to expect he will be induced to drop his Client and let the Ballance fall on my Side. The Second Way is for my Advocate not to insist on the Justice of my Cause, by allowing the *Cow* to belong to my Adversary; and this if it be dexterously and skilfully done will go a great Way towards obtaining a favourable Verdict, it having been found, from a careful Observation of Issues and Events, that the wrong Side, under the Management of such Practitioners, has the fairer Chance for Success, and this more especially if it happens, as it did in mine and my Friend's Case, and may have done since, that the Person appointed to decide all Controversies of

 Property

Property as well as for the Tryal of Criminals, who should be taken out of the most knowing and wise of his Profession, is by the Recommendation of a great Favourite, or Court-Mistress chosen out of the Sect before mentioned, and so, having been under a strong Bias all his Life against Equity and fair dealing, lies as it were under a fatal Necessity of favouring, shifting, double dealing and Oppression, and besides through Age, Infirmity, and Distempers grown lazy, unactive, and inattentive, and thereby almost incapacitated from doing any thing becoming the Nature of his Imployment, and the Duty of his Office. In such Cases, the Decisions and Determinations of Men so bred, and so qualified, may with Reason be expected on the wrong side of the Cause, since those who can take Harangue and Noise, (if pursued with Warmth, and drawn out into a Length,) for Reasoning, are not much to be wondered at, if they infer the weight of the Argument from the heaviness of the Pleading.

IT is a Maxim among these Men, That whatever has been done before may legally be done again: And therefore they take special Care to record all the Decisions formerly made, even those which have through Ignorance or Corruption contradicted the Rules of common Justice and the general Reason of Mankind. These, under the Name of *Precedents*, they produce as Authorities, and thereby endeavour to justify the most iniquitous Opinions; and they are so lucky in this Practice, that it rarely fails of Decrees answerable to their Intent and Expectation.

IN pleading, they studiously avoid entring into the *Merits* of the Cause; but are loud, violent and tedious

in

in dwelling upon all *Circumstances* which are not to the Purpose. For Instance, in the Case already mentioned; They never desire to know what Claim or Title my Adversary hath to my *Cow*, but whether the said *Cow* were Red or Black, her Horns long or short; whether the Field I graze her in be round or square, whether she was milked at home or abroad, what Diseases she is subject to, and the like; after which they consult *Precedents*, adjourn the Cause, from Time to Time, and in Ten, Twenty, or Thirty Years come to an Issue.

It is likewise to be observed that this Society hath a peculiar Cant and Jargon of their own, that no other Mortal can understand, and wherein all their Laws are written, which they take special Care to multiply; whereby they have gone near to confound the very Essence of Truth and Falshood, of Right and Wrong; so that it may take Thirty Years to decide whether the Field, left me by my Ancestors for six Generations, belongs to me or to a Stranger three hundred Miles off.

In the Tryal of Persons accused for Crimes against the State the Method is much more short and commendable: For if those in power, who know well how to choose Instruments fit for their Purpose, take care to recommend and promote out of this Clan a proper Person, his Method of Education and Practice makes it easy to him, when his Patrons Disposition is understood, without Difficulty or Study either to condemn or acquit the Criminal, and at the same time strictly preserve all due Forms of Law.

HERE my Master interposing said it was a Pity, that Creatures endowed with such prodigious Abilities of Mind as these Advocates by the Description I gave of them must certainly be, were not rather encouraged to be Instructors of others in Wisdom and Knowledge. In answer to which I assured his Honour that the Business and Study of their own Calling and Profession so took up all their Thoughts and engrossed all their Time, that they minded nothing else, and that therefore, in all points out of their own Trade, many of them were of so great Ignorance and Stupidity, that it was hard to pick out of any Profession a Generation of Men more despicable in common Conversation, or who were so much looked upon as avowed Enemies to all Knowledge and Learning, being equally disposed to pervert the general reason of Mankind in every other Subject of Discourse, as in that of their own Calling.

CHAP. VI

A Continuation of the State of England, *so well governed by a Queen as to need no first Minister. The Character of such an one in some* European *Courts.*

MY Master was yet wholly at a Loss to understand what Motives could incite this Race of Lawyers to perplex, disquiet, and weary themselves, and engage in a Confederacy of Injustice, merely for the Sake of injuring their Fellow-Animals; neither could he comprehend what I meant in saying they did it for *Hire*. Whereupon I was at much Pains to describe to him the Use of *Money*, the Materials it was made of, and the Value of the Metals; that when a *Yahoo* had got a great Store of this precious Substance, he was able to purchase whatever he had a mind to; the finest Cloathing, the noblest Houses, great Tracts of Land, the most costly Meats and Drinks, and have his choice of the most beautiful Females. Therefore since *Money* alone, was able to perform all these Feats, our *Yahoos* thought, they could never have enough of it to spend or to save, as they found themselves inclined from their natural Bent either to Profusion or Avarice. That the Rich Man enjoyed the Fruit of the Poor Man's Labour, and the latter were a thousand to one in proportion to the former. That the Bulk of our People were forced to live miserably, by labouring every Day for small Wages to make a few live plenti-

fully. I enlarged myself much on these and many other Particulars to the same purpose: But his Honour was still to seek: For he went upon a supposition that all Animals had a Title to their Share in the Productions of the Earth, and especially those who presided over the rest. Therefore he desired I would let him know, what these costly Meats were, and how any of us happened to want them. Whereupon I enumerated as many sorts as came into my Head, with the various Methods of dressing them, which could not be done without sending Vessels by Sea to every part of the World, as well for Liquors to Drink, as for Sauces, and innumerable other Conveniencies. I assured him, that this whole Globe of Earth must be at least three times gone round, before one of our better Female *Yahoos* could get her Breakfast, or a Cup to put it in. He said, That must needs be a miserable Country which cannot furnish Food for its own Inhabitants. But what he chiefly wondered at was how such vast Tracts of Ground as I described should be wholly without *Fresh-water*, and the People put to the Necessity of sending over the Sea for Drink. I replied, that *England* (the dear Place of my Nativity) was computed to produce three times the quantity of Food, more than its Inhabitants are able to consume, as well as Liquors extracted from Grain, or pressed out of the Fruit of certain Trees, which made excellent Drink, and the same Proportion in every other Convenience of Life. But in order to feed the Luxury and Intemperance of the Males, and the Vanity of the Females, we sent away the greatest Part of our necessary Things to other Countries, from whence in return we brought the Materials of Diseases, Folly, and Vice, to spend among

 ourselves.

ourselves. Hence it follows of Necessity, that vast Numbers of our People are compelled to seek their Livelihood by Begging, Robbing, Stealing, Cheating, Pimping, Forswearing, Flattering, Suborning, Forging, Gaming, Lying, Fawning, Hectoring, Voting, Scribling, Stargazing, Poysoning, Whoring, Canting, Libelling, Free-thinking, and the like Occupations: Every one of which Terms, I was at much Pains to make him understand.

That *Wine* was not imported among us from foreign Countries, to supply the want of Water or other Drinks, but because it was a sort of Liquid which made us merry, by putting us out of our Senses; diverted all melancholy Thoughts, begat wild extravagant Imaginations in the Brain, raised our Hopes, and banished our Fears, suspended every Office of Reason for a Time, and deprived us of the Use of our Limbs, till we fell into a profound Sleep; although it must be confessed, that we always awaked sick and dispirited, and that the Use of this Liquor filled us with Diseases, which made our Lives uncomfortable and short.

But beside all this, the Bulk of our People supported themselves by furnishing the Necessities and Conveniencies of Life to the Rich, and to each other. For Instance, when I am at home and dressed as I ought to be, I carry on my Body the Workmanship of an Hundred Tradesmen; the Building and Furniture of my House employ as many more, and five times the Number to adorn my Wife.

I WAS going on to tell him of another sort of People, who get their Livelihood by attending the Sick, having upon some Occasions informed his Honour that many of my Crew had died of Diseases. But here it was with the utmost Difficulty, that I brought him to apprehend what I meant. He could easily conceive, that a *Houyhnhnm* grew weak and heavy a few Days before his Death, or by some Accident might hurt a Limb. But that Nature, who works all Things to Perfection, should suffer any Pains to breed in our Bodies, he thought it impossible, and desired to know the Reason of so unaccountable an Evil. I told him, we fed on a thousand Things which operated the one contrary to each other; that we eat when we were not hungry, and drank without the Provocation of Thirst; That we sate whole Nights drinking strong Liquors without eating a Bit, which disposed us to Sloth, inflamed our Bodies, and precipitated or prevented Digestion. That prostitute Female *Yahoos* acquired a certain Malady, which bred Rottenness in the Bones of those, who fell into their Embraces; That this and many other Diseases, were propagated from Father to Son, so that great Numbers came into the World with complicated Maladies upon them; that it would be endless to give him a Catalogue of all Diseases incident to human Bodies; for they could not be fewer than five or six hundred, spread over every Limb, and Joynt; in short, every Part, external and intestine, having Diseases appropriated to them. To remedy which, there was a Sort of People bred up among us, in the Profession or Pretence of curing the Sick. And because I had some Skill in the Faculty, I would in Gratitude to his Honour, let him know the whole Mystery and Method by which they proceed.

THEIR Fundamental is, That all Diseases arise from *Repletion*, from whence they conclude, that a great *Evacuation* of the Body is necessary, either through the natural Passage, or upwards at the Mouth. Their next Business is, from Herbs, Minerals, Gums, Oyls, Shells, Salts, Juices, Sea-weed, Excrements, Barks of Trees, Serpents, Toads, Frogs, Spiders, dead Mens Flesh and Bones, Beasts and Fishes, to form a Composition for Smell and Taste the most abominable, nauseous and detestable, they can possibly contrive, which the Stomach immediately rejects with loathing; and this they call a *Vomit*; or else from the same Storehouse, with some other poysonous Additions, they command us to take in at the Orifice *above* or *below*, (just as the Physician then happens to be disposed) a Medicine equally annoying and disgustful to the Bowels, which relaxing the Belly, drives down all before it, and this they call a *Purge*, or a *Glyster*. For Nature (as the Physicians alledge) having intended the superior anterior Orifice only for the *intromission* of Solids and Liquids, and the inferior for Ejection, these Artists ingeniously considering that in all Diseases Nature is forced out of her Seat; therefore to replace her in it, the Body must be treated in a manner directly contrary, by interchanging the Use of each Orifice; forcing solids and Liquids in at the *Anus*, and making Evacuations at the Mouth.

BUT, besides real Diseases, we are subject to many that are only imaginary, for which the Physicians have invented imaginary Cures; these have their several Names, and so have the Drugs that are proper for them, and with these our Female *Yahoos* are always infested.

ONE great Excellency in this Tribe is their Skill at *Prognosticks*, wherein they seldom fail; their Predictions in real Diseases, when they rise to any Degree of Malignity, generally portending *Death*, which is always in their Power, when Recovery is not: And therefore, upon any unexpected Signs of Amendment, after they have pronounced their Sentence, rather than be accused as false Prophets, they know how to approve their Sagacity to the World by a seasonable Dose.

THEY are likewise of special Use to Husbands and Wives, who are grown weary of their Mates, to eldest Sons, to great Ministers of State, and often to Princes.

I HAD formerly upon occasion discoursed with my Master upon the Nature of *Government* in general, and particularly of our own *excellent Constitution*, deservedly the Wonder and Envy of the whole World. But having here accidentally mentioned a *Minister of State*; he commanded me some time after to inform him, what Species of *Yahoo* I particularly meant by that Appellation.

I TOLD him, that our She Governor or Queen having no Ambition to gratify, no Inclination to satisfy of extending her Power to the Injury of her Neighbours, or the Prejudice of her own Subjects, was therefore so far from needing a corrupt Ministry to carry on or cover any sinister Designs, that She not only directs her own Actions to the Good of her People, conducts them by the Direction, and restrains them within the Limitation of the Laws of her own Country; but submits the Behaviour and Acts of those She intrusts with

the Administration of Her Affairs to the Examination of Her great Council, and subjects them to the Penalties of the Law; and therefore never puts any such Confidence in any of her Subjects as to entrust them with the whole and entire Administration of her Affairs: But I added, that in some former Reigns here, and in many other Courts of *Europe* now, where Princes grew indolent and careless of their own Affairs through a constant Love and Pursuit of Pleasure, they made use of such an Administrator, as I had mentioned, under the Title of *first* or *chief Minister of State*, the Description of which, as far as it may be collected not only from their Actions, but from the Letters, Memoirs, and Writings published by themselves, the Truth of which has not yet been disputed, may be allowed to be as follows: That he is a Person wholly exempt from Joy and Grief, Love and Hatred, Pity and Anger; at least makes use of no other Passions but a violent Desire of Wealth, Power, and Titles; That he applies his Words to all Uses, except to the Indication of his Mind; That he never tells a *Truth*, but with an Intent that you should take it for a *Lye*; nor a *Lye*, but with a Design that you should take it for a *Truth*; That those he speaks worst of behind their Backs, are in the surest Way to Preferment; and whenever he begins to praise you to others or to yourself, you are from that Day forlorn. The worst Mark you can receive is a *Promise*, especially when it is confirmed with an Oath; after which every wise Man retires, and gives over all Hopes.

There are three Methods by which a Man may rise to be chief Minister: The first is, by knowing how with

Prudence to dispose of a Wife, a Daughter, or a Sister: The second, by betraying or undermining his Predecessor: And the third is, by a *furious Zeal* in publick Assemblies against the Corruptions of the Court. But a Wise Prince would rather choose to employ those who practice the last of these Methods; because such Zealots prove always the most obsequious and subservient to the Will and Passions of their Master. That these *Ministers* having all Employments at their Disposal, preserve themselves in Power by bribing the Majority of a Senate or great Council; and at last by an *Act of Indemnity* (whereof I described the Nature to him) they secured themselves from after Reckonings, and retired from the Publick, laden with the Spoils of the Nation.

THE Palace of a *Chief Minister*, is a Seminary to breed up others in his own Trade: The Pages, Lacquies, and Porters, by imitating their Master, become *Ministers of State* in their several Districts, and learn to excel in the three principal *Ingredients*, of *Insolence*, *Lying*, and *Bribery*. Accordingly, they have a *Subaltern* Court paid to them by Persons of the best Rank, and sometimes by the Force of Dexterity and Impudence, arrive through several Gradations to be Successors to their Lord.

HE is usually governed by a decayed Wench or favourite Footman, who are the Tunnels through which all Graces are conveyed, and may properly be called, *in the last Resort*, the Governors of the Kingdom.

ONE Day in Discourse my Master, having heard me mention the *Nobility* of my Country, was pleased to

 make

make me a Compliment which I could not pretend to deserve: That he was sure, I must have been born of some Noble Family, because I far exceeded in Shape, Colour, and Cleanliness, all the *Yahoos* of his Nation, although I seemed to fail in Strength and Agility, which must be imputed to my different Way of Living from those other Brutes, and besides, I was not only endowed with the Faculty of Speech, but likewise with some Rudiments of Reason, to a Degree, that with all his Acquaintance I passed for a Prodigy.

He made me observe, that among the *Houyhnhnms*, the *White*, the *Sorrel*, and the *Iron-grey*, were not so exactly shaped as the *Bay*, the *Dapple-grey*, and the *Black*; nor born with equal Talents of the Mind, or a Capacity to improve them; and therefore continued always in the Condition of Servants, without ever aspiring to match out of their own Race, which in that Country would be reckoned monstrous and unnatural.

I made his Honour my most humble Acknowledgments for the good Opinion he was pleased to conceive of me; but assured him at the same time, that my Birth was of the lower Sort, having been born of plain honest Parents, who were just able to give me a tolerable Education: That *Nobility* among us was altogether a different Thing from the Idea he had of it; That our Young *Noblemen* are bred from their Childhood in Idleness and Luxury; that as soon as Years will permit, they consume their Vigor, and contract odious Diseases among lewd Females; and when their Fortunes are almost ruined, they marry some Woman of mean Birth, disagreeable Person, and unsound Constitution,

 merely

merely for the Sake of Money, whom they hate and despise. That the Productions of such Marriages are generally scrophulous, ricketty, or deformed Children; by which means the Family seldom continues above Three Generations, unless the Wife takes care to provide a healthy Father among her Neighbours or Acquaintance, in order to improve and continue the Breed. That a weak diseased Body, a meager Countenance, and sallow Complexion, are no uncommon Marks of a *Great Man*; and a healthy robust Appearance is so far disgraceful in a Man of Quality, that the world is apt to conclude his real Father to have been one of the Inferiors of the Family, especially when it is seen that the Imperfections of his Mind run parallel with those of his Body, and are little else than a Composition of Spleen, Dullness, Ignorance, Caprice, Sensuality, and Pride.

CHAP. VII

The Author's great Love of his Native Country. His Master's Observations upon the Constitution and Administration of England, *as described by the Author, with parallel Cases and Comparisons. His Master's Observations upon Human Nature.*

THE Reader may be disposed to wonder how I could prevail on myself to give so free a Representation of my own Species, among a Race of Mortals who are already too apt to conceive the vilest Opinion of Human Kind from that entire Congruity betwixt me and their *Yahoos*. But I must freely confess, that the many Virtues of those excellent *Quadrupeds* placed in opposite View to human Corruptions, had so far opened my Eyes and enlightened my Understanding, that I began to view the Actions and Passions of Man in a very different Light, and to think the Honour of my own Kind not worth managing; which, besides, it was impossible for me to do before a Person of so acute a Judgment as my Master, who daily convinced me of a thousand Faults in myself, whereof I had not the least Perception before, and which among us would never be numbered even among human Infirmities, I had likewise learned from his Example an utter Detestation of all Falsehood or Disguise; and *Truth* appeared so amiable to me, that I determined upon sacrificing every thing to it.

LET me deal so candidly with the Reader, as to confess, that there was yet a much stronger Motive for the Freedom I took in my Representation of Things. I had not been a Year in this Country, before I contracted such a Love and Veneration for the Inhabitants, that I entered on a firm Resolution never to return to human Kind, but to pass the rest of my Life among these admirable *Houyhnhnms* in the Contemplation and Practice of every Virtue; where I could have no Example or Incitement to Vice. But it was decreed by Fortune, my perpetual Enemy, that so great a Felicity should not fall to my Share. However, it is now some Comfort to reflect, that in what I said of my Countrymen, I *extenuated* their Faults as much as I durst before so strict an Examiner, and upon every Article gave as *favourable* a Turn as the Matter would bear. For, indeed, who is there alive that will not be swayed by his Byas and Partiality to the Place of his Birth?

I HAVE related the Substance of several Conversations I had with my Master, during the greatest part of the Time I had the Honour to be in his Service, but have indeed for Brevity sake omitted much more than is here set down.

WHEN I had answered all his Questions, and his Curiosity seemed to be fully satisfied; he sent for me one Morning early, and commanding me to sit down at some distance, (an Honour which he had never before conferred upon me) he said, He had been very seriously considering my whole Story, as far as it related both to myself and my Country: That he

looked

looked upon us as a sort of Animals to whose Share, by what Accident he could not conjecture, some small Pittance of *Reason* had fallen, whereof we made no other Use than by its Assistance to aggravate our *natural* Corruptions, and to acquire new ones which Nature had not given us. That we disarmed ourselves of the few Abilities she had bestowed, had been very successful in multiplying our original Wants, and seemed to spend our whole Lives in vain Endeavours to supply them by our own Inventions. That as to myself, it was manifest I had neither the Strength or Agility of a common *Yahoo*, that I walked infirmly on my hinder Feet, had found out a Contrivance to make my Claws of no Use or Defence, and to remove the Hair from my Chin, which was intended as a shelter from the Sun and the Weather. Lastly, That I could neither run with Speed, nor climb Trees like my *brethren* (as he called them) the *Yahoos* in this Country.

That our Institutions of Government and Law were plainly owing to our gross Defects in *Reason*, and by consequence, in *Vertue*; because *Reason* alone is sufficient to govern a *Rational* Creature; which was therefore a Character we had no Pretence to challenge, even from the Account I had given of my own People, although he manifestly perceived, that in order to favour them, I had concealed many Particulars, and often *said the Thing which was not.*

He was the more confirmed in this Opinion, because he observed, that as I agreed in every Feature of my Body with other *Yahoos*, except where it was to

my

my real Disadvantage in point of Strength, Speed and Activity, the shortness of my Claws, and some other Particulars where Nature had no Part; so from the Representation I had given him of our Lives, our Manners, and our Actions, he found as near a Resemblance in the Disposition of our Minds. He said the *Yahoos* were known to hate one another more than they did any different Species of Animals; and the Reason usually assigned, was, the Odiousness of their own Shapes, which all could see in the rest, but not in themselves. He had therefore begun to think it not unwise in us to *cover* our Bodies, and by that Invention, conceal many of our own Deformities from each other, which would else be hardly supportable. But, he now found he had been mistaken, and that the Dissentions of those Brutes in his Country were owing to the same Cause with ours, as I had described them. For, if (said he) you throw among Five *Yahoos* as much Food as would be sufficient for Fifty, they will, instead of eating peaceably, fall together by the Ears, each single one impatient to *have all to itself*; and therefore a Servant was usually employed to stand by while they were feeding abroad, and those kept at home were tied at a Distance from each other; that if a Cow died of Age or Accident, before a *Houyhnhnm* could secure it for his own *Yahoos*, those in the Neighbourhood would come in Herds to seize it, and then would ensue such a Battle as I had described, with terrible Wounds made by their Claws on both Sides, although they seldom were able to kill one another, for want of such convenient Instruments of Death as we had invented. At other times the like Battles have been fought between the *Yahoos* of several Neighbourhoods without

 any

any visible Cause: Those of one District watching all Opportunities to surprize the next before they are prepared. But if they find their Project hath miscarried, they return home, and, for want of Enemies, engage in what I call a Civil War among themselves.

THAT in some Fields of his Country, there are certain *shining Stones* of several Colours, whereof the *Yahoos* are violently fond, and when Part of these *Stones* is fixed in the Earth, as it sometimes happeneth, they will dig with their Claws for whole Days to get them out, then carry them away, and hide them by Heaps in their Kennels; but still looking round with great Caution, for fear their Comrades should find out their Treasure. My Master said, he could never discover the Reason of this unnatural Appetite, or how these *Stones* could be of any Use to a *Yahoo*; but now he believed it might proceed from the same Principle of *Avarice*, which I had ascribed to Mankind; that he had once, by way of Experiment, privately removed a Heap of these *Stones* from the Place where one of his *Yahoos* had buried it: Whereupon, the sordid Animal missing his Treasure, by his loud lamenting brought the whole Herd to the Place, there miserably howled, then fell to biting and tearing the rest, began to pine away, would neither eat, nor sleep, nor work, till he ordered a Servant privately to convey the *Stones* into the same Hole, and hide them as before; which when his *Yahoo* had found, he presently recovered his Spirits and good Humour, but took good care to remove them to a better hiding-place, and hath ever since been a very serviceable Brute.

MY Master farther assured me, which I also observed myself, That in the Fields where the *shining Stones* abound, the fiercest and most frequent Battles are fought, occasioned by perpetual Inroads of the Neighbouring *Yahoos*.

HE said, it was common when two *Yahoos* discovered such a *Stone* in a Field, and were contending which of them should be the Proprietor, a third would take the Advantage, and carry it away from them both; which my Master would needs contend to have some kind of Resemblance with our *Suits at Law*; wherein I thought it for our Credit not to undeceive him; since the Decision he mentioned was much more equitable than many Decrees among us: Because the Plaintiff and Defendant there lost nothing beside the *Stone* they contended for, whereas our *Courts of Equity*, would seldom have dismissed the Cause while either of them had any thing left.

MY Master continuing his Discourse, said, There was nothing that rendered the *Yahoos* more odious, than their undistinguishing Appetite to devour every Thing that came in their way, whether Herbs, Roots, Berries, the corrupted Flesh of Animals, or all mingled together: And it was peculiar in their Temper, that they were fonder of what they could get by Rapine or Stealth at a greater distance, than much better Food provided for them at home. If their Prey held out, they would eat till they were ready to burst, after which Nature had pointed out to them a certain *Root* that gave them a general Evacuation.

THERE was also another kind of *Root* very *juicy*, but somewhat rare and difficult to be found, which the *Yahoos* sought for with much Eagerness, and would suck it with great Delight; and it produced the same Effects that Wine hath upon us. It would make them sometimes hug, and sometimes tear one another, they would howl and grin, and chatter, and tumble, and then fall asleep in the Dirt.

I DID indeed observe, that the *Yahoos* were the only Animals in this Country subject to any Diseases; which however, were much fewer than Horses have among us, and contracted not by any ill Treatment they meet with, but by the Nastiness and Greediness of that sordid Brute. Neither has their Language any more than a general Appellation for those Maladies, which is borrowed from the Name of the Beast, and called *Hnea-Yahoo* or the *Yahoo's-Evil*, and the Cure prescribed is a Mixture of *their own Dung* and *Urine* forcibly put down the *Yahoo's* Throat. This I have since often taken myself, and do freely recommend it to my Countrymen, for the publick Good, as an admirable Specifick against all Diseases produced by Repletion.

As to Learning, Government, Arts, Manufactures, and the like, my Master confessed he could find little or no Resemblance between the *Yahoos* of that Country and those in ours. For, he only meant to observe what Parity there was in our Natures. He had heard indeed some curious *Houyhnhnms* observe, that in most Herds there was a sort of ruling *Yahoo*, (as among us there is generally some leading or principal Stag in a Park) who was always more *deformed* in Body, and *mischievous*

in Disposition, than any of the rest. That this *Leader* had usually a Favourite as *like himself* as he could get, whose Employment was to *lick his Master's Feet and Posteriors, and drive the Female* Yahoos *to his Kennel*; for which he was now and then rewarded with a piece of Ass's Flesh. This *Favorite* is hated by the whole Herd, and therefore to protect himself, keeps always *near the Person of his Leader*. He usually continues in Office till a worse can be found; but the very Moment he is discarded, his Successor, at the Head of all the *Yahoos* in that District, Young and Old, Male and Female, come in a Body, and discharge their Excrements upon him from Head to Foot. But how far this might be applicable to our *Courts* and *Favourites*, and *Ministers of State*, my Master said I could best determine.

I DURST make no return to this malicious Insinuation which debased human Understanding below the Sagacity of a common *Hound*, who has Judgment enough to distinguish and follow the Cry of the *ablest Dog in the Pack*, without being ever mistaken.

MY Master told me, there were some Qualities remarkable in the *Yahoos*, which he had not observed me to mention, or at least very slightly, in the Accounts I had given him of human Kind; he said, Those Animals, like other Brutes, had their Females in common; but in this they differed, that the She-*Yahoo* would admit the Male, while she was pregnant, and that the Hees would quarrel and fight with Females as fiercely as with each other. Both which Practices were such Degrees of Brutality, that no other sensitive Creature ever arrived at.

ANOTHER thing he wondred at in the *Yahoos*, was their strange Disposition to Nastiness and Dirt, whereas there appears to be a natural Love of Cleanliness in all other Animals. As to the two former Accusations, I was glad to let them pass without any Reply, because I had not a Word to offer upon them in Defence of my Species, which otherwise I certainly had done from my own Inclinations. But I could have easily vindicated Human Kind from the Imputation of Singularity upon the Article, if there had been any *Swine* in that Country, (as unluckily for me there were not) which although it may be a *sweeter Quadruped* than a *Yahoo*, cannot I humbly conceive in Justice pretend to more Cleanliness; and so his Honour himself must have owned, if he had seen their filthy way of feeding, and their Custom of wallowing and sleeping in the Mud.

MY Master likewise mentioned another Quality which his Servants had discovered in several *Yahoos*, and to him was wholly unaccountable. He said, a Fancy would sometimes take a *Yahoo* to retire into a Corner, to lie down and howl, and groan, and spurn away all that came near him, although he were young and fat, wanted neither Food nor Water; nor could the Servants imagine what could possibly ail him. And the only Remedy they found was to set him to hard Work, after which he would infallibly come to himself. To this I was silent out of Partiality to my own Kind; yet here I could discover the true Seeds of *Spleen*, which only seizeth on the *Lazy*, the *Luxurious*, and the *Rich*; who, if they were forced to undergo the *same Regimen* I would undertake for the Cure.

HIS Honour had farther observed, that a Female-*Yahoo* would often stand behind a Bank or a Bush, to gaze on the young Males passing by, and then appear, and hide, using many antick Gestures and Grimaces, at which time it was observed, that she had a most *offensive Smell*; and when any of the Males advanced, would slowly retire, looking often back, and with a counterfeit shew of Fear, run off into some convenient Place where she knew the Male would follow her.

AT other times if a Female Stranger came among them, Three or Four of her own Sex would get about her, and stare and chatter, and grin, and smell her all over, and then turn off with Gestures that seemed to express Contempt and Disdain.

PERHAPS my Master might refine a little in these Speculations, which he had drawn from what he observed himself, or had been told him by others: however, I could not reflect without some Amazement, and much Sorrow, that the Rudiments of *Lewdness*, *Coquetry*, *Censure*, and *Scandal*, should have place by Instinct in Womankind.

I EXPECTED every Moment that my Master would accuse the *Yahoos* of those unnatural Appetites in both Sexes, so common among us. But Nature it seems, hath not been so expert a School-mistress; and these politer Pleasures are entirely the Productions of Art and Reason, on our side of the Globe.

CHAP. VIII

The Author relates several Particulars of the Yahoos. *The great Virtues of the* Houyhnhnms. *The Education and Exercise of their Youth. Their general Assembly.*

AS I ought to have understood Human Nature much better than I supposed it possible for my Master to do, so it was easy to apply the Character he gave of the *Yahoos* to myself and my Countrymen, and I believed I could yet make farther Discoveries from my own Observation. I therefore often begged his Favour to let me go among the Herds of *Yahoos* in the Neighbourhood, to which he always very graciously consented, being perfectly convinced that the Hatred I bore those Brutes would never suffer me to be corrupted by them; and his Honour ordered one of his Servants, a strong Sorrel Nag, very honest and good-natured, to be my Guard, without whose Protection I durst not undertake such Adventures. For I have already told the Reader how much I was pestered by those odious Animals upon my first Arrival. And I afterwards failed very narrowly three or four times of falling into their Clutches, when I happened to stray at any Distance without my Hanger. And I have reason to believe they had some Imagination that I was of their own Species, which I often assisted myself, by stripping up my Sleeves, and shewing my naked Arms and Breast in their sight, when my Protector was with me. At which times they would approach as near

as they durst, and imitate my Actions after the manner of Monkeys, but ever with great signs of Hatred, as a tame *Jack-Daw* with Cap and Stockings, is always persecuted by the wild ones, when he happens to be got among them.

THEY are prodigiously nimble from their Infancy; however, I once caught a young Male of three Years old, and endeavoured by all Marks of Tenderness to make it quiet; but the little Imp fell a squalling, and scratching, and biting with such Violence, that I was forced to let it go, and it was high time, for a whole Troop of old ones came about us at the Noise, but finding the Cub was safe, (for away it ran) and my Sorrel Nag being by, they durst not venture near us. I observed the young Animal's Flesh to smell very rank, and the stink was somewhat between a *Weasel* and a *Fox*, but much more disagreeable. I forgot another Circumstance (and perhaps I might have the Reader's Pardon, if it were wholly omitted) that while I held the odious Vermin in my Hands, it voided its filthy Excrements of a Yellow liquid Substance, all over my Cloaths; but by good Fortune there was a small Brook hard by, where I washed myself as clean as I could, although I durst not come into my Master's Presence, until I were sufficiently aired.

BY what I could discover, the *Yahoos* appear to be the most unteachable of all Animals, their Capacities never reaching higher than to draw or carry Burthens. Yet I am of opinion this Defect ariseth chiefly from a perverse, restive Disposition. For they are cunning, malicious, treacherous and revengeful. They are

 strong

strong and hardy, but of a cowardly Spirit, and by consequence, insolent, abject, and cruel. It is observed, that the *Red-haired* of both Sexes are more libidinous and mischievous than the rest, whom yet they much exceed in Strength and Activity.

THE *Houyhnhnms* keep the *Yahoos* for present use in Huts not far from the House; but the rest are sent abroad to certain Fields, where they dig up Roots, eat several kinds of Herbs, and scratch about for Carrion, or sometimes catch *Weasels* and *Luhimuhs* (a sort of wild *Rat*) which they greedily devour. Nature hath taught them to dig deep Holes with their Nails on the side of a rising Ground, wherein they lie by themselves, only the Kennels of the Females are larger, sufficient to hold two or three Cubs.

THEY swim from their Infancy like Frogs, and are able to continue long under Water, where they often take Fish, which the Females carry home to their Young. And upon this Occasion, I hope the Reader will pardon my relating an odd Adventure.

BEING one Day abroad with my Protector the Sorrel Nag, and the Weather exceeding hot, I entreated him to let me bathe in a River that was near. He consented, and I immediately stripped myself stark naked, and went down softly into the Stream. It happened that a young Female *Yahoo* standing behind a Bank, saw the whole proceeding, and enflamed by Desire, as the Nag and I conjectured, came running with all speed, and leaped into the Water within five Yards of the Place where I bathed. I was never in my Life

so terribly frighted; the Nag was grazing at some distance, not suspecting any Harm. She embraced me after a most fulsome manner; I roared as loud as I could, and the Nag came galloping towards me, whereupon she quitted her Grasp, with the utmost Reluctancy, and leaped upon the opposite Bank, where she stood gazing and howling all the time I was putting on my Cloaths.

THIS was matter of Diversion to my Master and his Family, as well as of Mortification to myself. For now I could no longer deny, that I was a real *Yahoo*, in every Limb and Feature, since the Females had a natural Propensity to me as one of their own Species: Neither was the Hair of this Brute of a Red Colour, (which might have been some Excuse for an Appetite a little irregular) but Black as a Sloe, and her Countenance did not make an Appearance altogether so hideous as the rest of the Kind; For, I think, she could not be above eleven Years old.

HAVING lived three Years in this Country, the Reader I suppose will expect, that I should, like other Travellers, give him some Account of the Manners and Customs of its Inhabitants, which it was indeed my principal Study to learn.

As these Noble *Houyhnhnms* are endowed by Nature with a general Disposition to all Virtues, and have no Conceptions or Ideas of what is Evil in a Rational Creature, so their grand Maxim is, to cultivate *Reason*, and to be wholly governed by it. Neither is *Reason* among them a Point Problematical as with us, where

Men can argue with Plausibility on both sides of the Question; but strikes you with immediate Conviction; as it must needs do where it is not mingled, obscured, or discoloured by Passion and Interest. I remember it was with extreme Difficulty that I could bring my Master to understand the meaning of the Word *Opinion*, or how a Point could be disputable; because *Reason* taught us to affirm or deny only where we are certain; and beyond our Knowledge we cannot do either. So that Controversies, Wranglings, Disputes, and Positiveness in false or dubious Propositions are Evils unknown among the *Houyhnhnms*. In the like manner when I used to explain to him our several Systems of *Natural Philosophy*, he would laugh that a Creature pretending to *Reason*, should value itself upon the Knowledge of other Peoples Conjectures, and in Things, where that Knowledge, if it were certain, could be of no Use. Wherein he agreed entirely with the Sentiments of *Socrates*, as *Plato* delivers them; which I mention as the highest Honour I can do that Prince of Philosophers. I have often since reflected what Destruction such a Doctrine would make in the Libraries of *Europe*, and how many Paths to Fame would be then shut up in the Learned World.

Friendship and *Benevolence* are the two principal Virtues among the *Houyhnhnms*, and these not confined to particular Objects, but universal to the whole Race. For a Stranger from the remotest Part is equally treated with the nearest Neighbour, and wherever he goes, looks upon himself as at home. They preserve *Decency* and *Civility* in the highest Degrees, but are altogether ignorant of *Ceremony*. They have no Fond-

 ness

ness for their Colts or Foles, but the Care they take in educating them proceeds entirely from the Dictates of *Reason*. And I observed my Master to shew the same Affection to his Neighbour's Issue that he had for his own. They will have it that *Nature* teaches them to love the whole Species, and it is *Reason* only that maketh a Distinction of Persons, where there is a superior Degree of Virtue.

WHEN the Matron *Houyhnhnms* have produced one of each Sex, they no longer accompany with their Consorts, except they lose one of their Issue by some Casualty, which very seldom happens: But in such a Case they meet again, or when the like Accident befalls a Person, whose Wife is past bearing, some other Couple bestow on him one of their own Colts, and then go together again till the Mother is pregnant. This Caution is necessary to prevent the Country from being overburthened with Numbers. But the Race of inferior *Houyhnhnms* bred up to be Servants is not so strictly limited upon this Article; These are allowed to produce three of each Sex, to be Domesticks in the Noble Families.

IN their Marriages they are exactly careful to choose such Colours as will not make any disagreeable Mixture in the Breed. *Strength* is chiefly valued in the Male, and *Comeliness* in the Female, not upon the account of *Love*, but to preserve the Race from degenerating; for where a Female happens to excel in *Strength*, a Consort is chosen with regard to *Comeliness*. Courtship, Love, Presents, Joyntures, Settlements, have no place in their Thoughts; or Terms whereby to express them in their

 Language.

Language. The young Couple meet and are joyned, merely because it is the Determination of their Parents and Friends: It is what they see done every Day, and they look upon it as one of the necessary Actions of a Rational Being. But the Violation of Marriage, or any other Unchastity, was never heard of: And the married Pair pass their Lives with the same Friendship, and mutual Benevolence that they bear to all others of the same Species, who come in their way; without Jealousy, Fondness, Quarrelling, or Discontent.

In educating the Youth of both Sexes, their Method is admirable, and highly deserves our Imitation. These are not suffered to taste a Grain of *Oats*, except upon certain Days, till Eighteen Years old; nor *Milk*, but very rarely; and in Summer they graze two Hours in the Morning, and as long in the Evening, which their Parents likewise observe; but the Servants are not allowed above half that time, and a great Part of their Grass is brought home, which they eat at the most convenient Hours, when they can be best spared from Work.

Temperance, *Industry*, *Exercise* and *Cleanliness*, are the Lessons equally enjoyned to the young ones of both Sexes: And my Master thought it monstrous in us to give the Females a different kind of Education from the Males, except in some Articles of Domestick Management; whereby as he truly observed, one half of our Natives were good for nothing but bringing Children into the World: And to trust the Care of our Children to such useless Animals, he said was yet a greater Instance of Brutality.

BUT the *Houyhnhnms* train up their Youth to Strength, Speed, and Hardiness, by exercising them in running Races up and down steep Hills, and over hard and stony Grounds, and when they are all in a Sweat, they are ordered to leap over Head and Ears, into a Pond or a Rivet. Four times a Year the Youth of a certain District meet to show their Proficiency in Running, and Leaping, and other Feats of Strength and Agility, where the Victor is rewarded, with a Song made in his or her Praise. On this Festival the Servants drive a Herd of *Yahoos* into the Field, laden with Hay, and Oats, and Milk for a Repast to the *Houyhnhnms*; after which, these Brutes were immediately driven back again, for fear of being noisome to the Assembly.

EVERY fourth Year, at the *Vernal Equinox*, there is a Representative Council of the whole Nation, which meets in a Plain about twenty Miles from our House, and continues about five or six Days. Here they enquire into the State and Condition of the several Districts, Whether they abound or be deficient in Hay or Oats, or Cows or *Yahoos?* And wherever there is any Want (which is but seldom) it is immediately supplied by unanimous Consent and Contribution. Here likewise the Regulation of Children is settled: As for Instance, if a *Houyhnhnm* hath two Males, he changeth one of them with another that hath two Females: And when a Child hath been lost by any Casualty, where the Mother is past Breeding, it is determined what Family shall breed another to supply the Loss.

CHAP. IX

A grand Debate at the General Assembly of the Houyhnhnms, *and how it was determined. The Learning of the* Houyhnhnms. *Their Buildings. Their manner of Burials. The Defectiveness of their Language.*

ONE of these Grand Assemblies was held in my time, about three Months before my Departure, whither my Master went as the Representative of our District. In this Council was resumed their old Debate, and indeed, the only Debate that ever happened in that Country; whereof my Master after his Return gave me a very particular Account.

THE Question to be debated, was, Whether the *Yahoos* should be exterminated from the Face of the Earth. One of the *Members* for the Affirmative offered several Arguments of great Strength and Weight, alledging, That as the *Yahoos* were the most filthy, noisome, and deformed Animal which Nature ever produced, so they were the most restive and indocible, mischievous and malicious: They would privately suck the Teats of the *Houyhnhnms* Cows, kill and devour their Cats, trample down their Oats and Grass, if they were not continually watched, and commit a thousand other Extravagancies. He took notice of a general Tradition, That *Yahoos* had not been always in that Country: but, that many Ages ago, two of these Brutes appeared together upon a Mountain, whether pro-

 duced

duced by the Heat of the Sun upon corrupted Mud and Slime, or from the Ooze or Froth of the Sea, was never known. That these *Yahoos* engendered, and their Brood in a short time grew so numerous as to over-run and infest the whole Nation. That the *Houyhnhnms* to get rid of this Evil, made a general Hunting, and at last enclosed the whole Herd, and destroying the old Ones, every *Houyhnhnm* kept two young Ones in a Kennel, and brought them to such a degree of Tameness, as an Animal so savage by Nature can be capable of acquiring; using them for Draught and Carriage. That there seemed to be much Truth in this Tradition, and that those Creatures could not be *Ylnhniamshy* (or *Aborigines* of the Land) because of the violent Hatred the *Houyhnhnms*, as well as all other Animals, bore them; which although their evil Disposition sufficiently deserved, could never have arrived at so high a Degree, if they had been *Aborigines*, or else they would have long since been rooted out. That the Inhabitants taking a Fancy to use the Service of the *Yahoos*, had very imprudently neglected to cultivate the Breed of *Asses*, which were a comely Animal, easily kept, more tame and orderly, without any offensive Smell, strong enough for Labour, although they yield to the other in agility of Body; and if their Braying be no agreeable Sound, it is far preferable to the horrible Howlings of the *Yahoos*.

SEVERAL others declared their Sentiments to the same purpose, when my Master proposed an Expedient to the Assembly, whereof he had indeed borrowed the Hint from me. He approved of the Tradition, mentioned by the *Honourable Member*, who spoke before,

 and

and affirmed, that the Two *Yahoos* said to be first seen among them had been driven thither over the Sea; that coming to Land, and being forsaken by their Companions, they retired to the Mountains, and degenerating by degrees, became in process of time, much more savage than those of their own Species in the Country from whence these two Originals came. The reason of his Assertion was, that he had now in his Possession, a certain wonderful *Yahoo*, (meaning myself) which most of them had heard of, and many of them had seen. He then related to them, how he first found me, that my Body was all covered with an artificial Composure of the Skins and Hairs of other Animals: That I had a Language of my own, and had thoroughly learned theirs: That I had related to him the Accidents which brought me thither: That when he saw me without my Covering, I was an exact *Yahoo* in every Part, only of a whiter Colour, less hairy, and with shorter Claws. He added, how I had endeavoured to persuade him, that in my own and other Countries the *Yahoos* acted as the governing, Rational Animal, and held the *Houyhnhnms* in Servitude: That he observed in me all the Qualities of a *Yahoo*, only a little more civilized by some Tincture of Reason, which however was in a degree as far inferior to the *Houyhnhnm* Race, as the *Yahoos* of their Country were to me: That, among other things, I mentioned a Custom we had of *Castrating Houyhnhnms* when they were young, in order to render them tame; that the Operation was easy and safe; that it was no Shame to learn Wisdom from Brutes, as Industry is taught by the Ant, and Building by the Swallow. (For so I translate the Word *Lyhannh*, although it be a much larger Fowl) That

this Invention might be practiced upon the younger *Yahoos* here, which, besides rendring them tractable and fitter for Use, would in an Age put an end to the whole Species without destroying Life. That, in the mean time the *Houyhnhnms* should be *exhorted* to cultivate the Breed of Asses, which as they are in all respects more valuable Brutes, so they have this Advantage, to be fit for Service at five Years old, which the others are not till twelve.

THIS was all my Master thought fit to tell me at that time, of what passed in the Grand Council. But he was pleased to conceal one Particular, which related personally to myself, whereof I soon felt the unhappy Effect, as the Reader will know in its proper Place, and from whence I date all the succeeding Misfortunes of my Life.

THE *Houyhnhnms* have no Letters, and consequently, their Knowledge is all Traditional. But there happening few Events of any Moment among a People so well united, naturally disposed to every Virtue, wholly governed by Reason, and cut off from all Commerce with other Nations, the Historical Part is easily preserved without burthening their Memory. I have already observed, that they are subject to no Diseases, and therefore can have no need of Physicians. However, they have excellent Medicines composed of Herbs, to cure accidental Bruises and Cuts in the Pastern or Frog of the Foot by sharp Stones, as well as other Maims and Hurts in the several Parts of the Body.

THEY calculate the Year by the Revolution of the Sun and Moon, but use no Subdivisions into Weeks. They are well enough acquainted with the Motions of those two Luminaries, and understand the Nature of *Eclipses*; and this is the utmost Progress of their *Astronomy*.

IN *Poetry* they must be allowed to excel all other Mortals; wherein the Justness of their Similes, and the Minuteness, as well as Exactness of their Descriptions, are indeed inimitable. Their Verses abound very much in both of these, and usually contain either some exalted Notions of Friendship and Benevolence, or the Praises of those who were Victors in Races, and other bodily Exercises. Their Buildings, although very rude and simple, are not inconvenient, but well contrived to defend them from all Injuries of Cold and Heat. They have a kind of Tree, which at Forty Years old loosens in the Root, and falls with the first Storm; they grow very strait, and being pointed like Stakes with a sharp Stone, (for the *Houyhnhnms* know not the Use of Iron) they stick them erect in the Ground about ten Inches asunder, and then weave in Oat-straw, or sometimes Wattles betwixt them. The Roof is made after the same manner, and so are the Doors.

THE *Houyhnhnms* use the hollow Part between the Pastern and the Hoof of their Fore-feet, as we do our Hands, and this with greater Dexterity, than I could at first imagine. I have seen a White Mare of our Family thread a Needle (which I lent her on purpose)

with that Joynt. They milk their Cows, reap their Oats, and do all the Work which requires Hands, in the same manner. They have a kind of hard Flints, which by grinding against other Stones, they form into Instruments, that serve instead of Wedges, Axes, and Hammers. With Tools made of these Flints, they likewise cut their Hay, and reap their Oats, which there groweth naturally in several Fields: The *Yahoos* draw home the Sheaves in Carriages, and the Servants tread them in several covered Hutts, to get out the Grain, which is kept in Stores. They make a rude kind of earthen and wooden Vessels, and bake the former in the Sun.

IF they can avoid Casualties, they die only of Old-Age, and are buried in the obscurest Places that can be found, their Friends and Relations expressing neither Joy nor Grief at their Departure, nor does the dying Person discover the least Regret that he is leaving the World, any more than if he were upon returning home from a Visit to one of his Neighbours; I remember my Master having once made an Appointment with a Friend and his Family to come to his House upon some Affair of Importance, on the Day fixed, the Mistress and her two Children came very late; she made two Excuses, first for her Husband, who, as she said, happened that very Morning to *Shnuwnh*. The Word is strongly expressive in their Language, but not easily rendred into *English*, it signifies, *to retire to his first Mother*. Her Excuse for not coming sooner, was, that her Husband dying late in the Morning, she was a good while consulting her Servants about a convenient Place where his Body

should be laid; and I observed she behaved herself at our House, as chearfully as the rest, and died about three Months after.

THEY live generally to Seventy or Seventy-five Years, very seldom to Fourscore: Some Weeks before their Death they feel a gradual Decay, but without Pain. During this time they are much visited by their Friends, because they cannot go abroad, with their usual Ease and Satisfaction. However, about ten Days before their Death, which they seldom fail in computing, they return the Visits that have been made them by those who are nearest in the Neighbourhood, being carried in a convenient Sledge drawn by *Yahoos*, which Vehicle they use, not only upon this Occasion, but when they grow old, upon long Journeys, or when they are lamed by any Accident. And therefore when the dying *Houyhnhnms* return those Visits, they take a solemn leave of their Friends, as if they were going to some remote Part of the Country, where they designed to pass the rest of their Lives.

I KNOW not whether it may be worth observing, that the *Houyhnhnms* have no Word in their Language to express any thing that is *Evil*, except what they borrow from the Deformities or ill Qualities of the *Yahoos*. Thus they denote the Folly of a Servant, an Omission of a Child, a Stone that cut their Feet, a continuance of foul or unseasonable Weather, and the like, by adding to each the Epithet of *Yahoo*. For Instance, *hhnm Yahoo*, *Whnaholm Yahoo*, *Ynlhmndwihlma Yahoo*, and an ill-contrived House *Ynholmhnmrohlnw Yahoo*.

I COULD with great Pleasure enlarge farther upon the Manners and Virtues of this excellent People; but intending in a short time to publish a Volume by itself expressly upon that Subject, I refer the Reader thither. And in the mean time, proceed to relate my own sad Catastrophe.

CHAP. X

The Author's Oeconomy, and happy Life among the Houyhnhnms. *His great Improvement in Virtue, by conversing with them. Their Conversations. The Author has notice given him by his Master that he must depart from the Country. He falls into a Swoon for Grief, but submits. He contrives and finishes a Canoo, by the help of a Fellow-Servant, and puts to Sea at a venture.*

I HAD settled my little Oeconomy to my own Heart's content. My Master had ordered a Room for me after their manner, about six Yards from the House; the Sides and Floors of which I plaistered with Clay, and covered with Rush-matts of my own contriving; I had beaten Hemp, which there grows wild, and made of it a sort of Ticking: This I filled with the Feathers of several Birds I had taken with Springes made of *Yahoos* Hairs, and were excellent Food. I had worked two Chairs with my Knife, the Sorrel Nag helping me in the grosser and more laborious Part. When my Cloaths were worn to Rags, I made myself others with the Skins of Rabbets, and of a certain beautiful Animal about the same size, called *Nnuhnoh*, the Skin of which is covered with a fine Down. Of these I made very tolerable Stockings. I soaled my Shoes with Wood which I cut from a Tree, and fitted to the upper Leather, and when this was worn out, I supplied it with the skins of *Yahoos* dried in the Sun. I often got Honey out of hollow Trees, which I mingled

with

with Water, or eat with my Bread. No Man could more verify the Truth of these two Maxims, *That Nature is very easily satisfied*; and, *That Necessity is the Mother of Invention.* I enjoyed perfect Health of Body and Tranquillity of Mind; I did not find the Treachery or Inconstancy of a Friend, nor the Injuries of a secret or open Enemy. I had no occasion of bribing, flattering or pimping, to procure the Favour of any great Man or of his Minion. I wanted no Fence against Fraud or Oppression; Here was neither Physician to destroy my Body, nor Lawyer to ruin my Fortune; No Informer to watch my Words, and Actions, or forge Accusations against me for Hire: Here were no Gibers, Censurers, Backbiters, Pick-pockets, Highwaymen, House-breakers, Attorneys, Bawds, Buffoons, Gamesters, Politicians, Wits, splenetick tedious Talkers, Controvertists, Ravishers, Murderers, Robbers, Virtuoso's, no Leaders or Followers of Party and Faction; no Encouragers to Vice, by Seducement or Examples: No Dungeon, Axes, Gibbets, Whipping-posts, or Pillories; No cheating Shop-keepers or Mechanicks: No Pride, Vanity or Affectation: No Fops, Bullies, Drunkards, strolling Whores, or Poxes: No ranting, lewd, expensive Wives: No stupid, proud Pedants: No importunate, overbearing, quarrelsome, noisy, roaring, empty, conceited, swearing Companions: No Soundrels, raised from the Dust for the sake of their Vices, or Nobility thrown into it on account of their Virtues: No Lords, Fidlers, Judges or Dancing-Masters.

I HAD the Favour of being admitted to several *Houyhnhnms*, who came to visit or dine with my Master,

 where

where his Honour graciously suffered me to wait in the Room, and listen to their Discourse. Both he and his Company would often descend to ask me Questions, and receive my Answers. I had also sometimes the Honour of attending my Master in his Visits to others. I never presumed to speak, except in answer to a Question, and then I did it with inward Regret, because it was a Loss of so much Time for improving myself: But I was infinitely delighted, with the Station of an humble Auditor in such Conversations, where nothing passed but what was useful, expressed in the fewest and most significant Words: Where the greatest *Decency* was observed, without the least Degree of Ceremony; where no Person spoke without being pleased himself, and pleasing his Companions: Where there was no Interruption, Tediousness, Heat, or Difference of Sentiments. They have a Notion, That when People are met together, a short Silence doth much improve Conversation: This I found to be true; for during those little Intermissions of Talk, new Ideas would arise in the Thoughts, which very much enlivened their Discourse. Their Subjects are generally on Friendship and Benevolence, on Order and Oeconomy, sometimes upon the visible Operations of Nature, or ancient Traditions; upon the Bounds and Limits of Virtue, upon the unerring Rules of Reason, or upon some Determinations, to be taken at the next great Assembly; and often upon the various Excellencies of *Poetry*. I may add without Vanity, that my Presence often gave them sufficient Matter for Discourse, because it afforded my Master an Occasion of letting his Friends into the History of me and my Country, upon which they were all pleased to descant

 in

in a manner not very advantageous to Human Kind; and for that Reason I shall not repeat what they said: Only I may be allowed to observe, That his Honour, to my great Admiration, appeared to understand the Nature of *Yahoos* in all Countries, much better than myself. He went through all our Vices and Follies, and discovered many which I had never mentioned to him, by only supposing what Qualities a *Yahoo* of their Country, with a small proportion of Reason, might be capable of exerting; and concluded, with too much Probability, how vile as well as miserable such a Creature must be.

I FREELY confess, that all the little Knowledge I have of any value, was acquired by the Lectures I received from my Master, and from hearing the Discourses of him and his Friends; to which I should be prouder to listen, than to dictate to the greatest and wisest Assembly in *Europe*. I admired the Strength, Comeliness, and Speed of the Inhabitants; and such a Constellation of Virtues in such amiable Persons produced in me the highest Veneration. At first, indeed, I did not feel that natural Awe which the *Yahoos* and all other Animals bear towards them, but it grew upon me by Degrees, much sooner than I imagined, and was mingled with a respectful Love and Gratitude, that they would condescend to distinguish me from the rest of my Species.

WHEN I thought of my Family, my Friends, and my Countrymen, or Human Race in general, I considered them as they really were, *Yahoos* in Shape and Disposition, only a little civilized, and qualified with the

 Gift

Gift of Speech, but making no other use of Reason, than to improve and multiply those Vices, whereof their Brethren in this Country had only the share that Nature allotted them. When I happened to behold the Reflection of my own Form in a Lake or a Fountain, I turned away my Face in Horror and Detestation of myself, and could better endure the sight of a common *Yahoo*, than of my own Person. By conversing with the *Houyhnhnms*, and looking upon them with Delight, I fell to imitate their Gate and Gesture, which is now grown into an Habit, and my Friends often tell me in a blunt way, that *I trot like a Horse*; which, however, I take for a great Compliment: Neither shall I disown, that in Speaking I am apt to fall into the Voice and manner of the *Houyhnhnms*, and hear myself ridiculed on that account without the least Mortification.

In the midst of all this Happiness, and when I looked upon myself to be fully settled for Life, my Master sent for me one Morning a little earlier than his usual Hour. I observed by his Countenance that he was in some Perplexity, and at a Loss how to begin what he had to speak. After a short Silence, he told me, He did not know how I would take what he was going to say; that in the last general Assembly, when the Affair of the *Yahoos* was entred upon, the Representatives had taken Offence at his keeping a *Yahoo* (meaning myself) in his Family more like a *Houyhnhnm*, than a Brute Animal. That he was known frequently to converse with me, as if he could receive some Advantage or Pleasure in my Company: That such a Practice was not agreeable to Reason or Nature, nor a thing ever heard of before among them. The

Assembly did therefore *exhort* him, either to employ me like the rest of my Species, or command me to swim back to the Place from whence I came. That the first of these Expedients was utterly rejected by all the *Houyhnhnms*, who had ever seen me at his House or their own: For they alledged, That because I had some Rudiments of Reason, added to the natural Pravity of those Animals, it was to be feared, I might be able to seduce them into the woody and mountainous Parts of the Country, and bring them in Troops by Night to destroy the *Houyhnhnms* Cattle, as being naturally of the ravenous Kind, and averse from Labour.

MY Master added, That he was daily pressed by the *Houyhnhnms* of the Neighbourhood to have the Assembly's *Exhortation* executed, which he could not put off much longer. He doubted it would be impossible for me to swim to another Country, and therefore wished I would contrive some sort of Vehicle resembling those I had described to him, that might carry me on the Sea, in which Work I should have the Assistance of his own Servants, as well as those of his Neighbours. He concluded, That for his own Part he could have been content to keep me in his Service as long as I lived, because he found I had cured myself of some bad Habits and Dispositions, by endeavouring, as far as my inferior Nature was capable, to imitate the *Houyhnhnms*.

I SHOULD here observe to the Reader, That a Decree of the general Assembly in this Country, is expressed by the Word *Hnhloayn*, which signifies an *Exhortation*; as near as I can render it: For they have no Conception

 how

how a Rational Creature can be *compelled*, but only advised, or *exhorted*, because no Person can disobey Reason, without giving up his Claim to be a Rational Creature.

I WAS struck with the utmost Grief and Despair at my Master's Discourse; and being unable to support the Agonies I was under, I fell into a Swoon at his Feet; when I came to myself, he told me, that he concluded I had been dead. (For these People are subject to no such Imbecillities of Nature) I answered, in a faint Voice, that Death would have been too great an Happiness; that although I could not blame the Assembly's *Exhortation*, or the Urgency of his Friends; yet in my weak and corrupt Judgment, I thought it might consist with Reason to have been less rigorous. That I could not swim a League, and probably the nearest Land to theirs might be distant above an hundred: That many Materials, necessary for making a small Vessel to carry me off, were wholly wanting in this Country, which however, I would attempt in Obedience and Gratitude to his Honour, although I concluded the Thing to be impossible, and therefore looked on my self as already devoted to Destruction. That the certain Prospect of unnatural Death, was the least of my Evils: For, supposing I should escape with Life by some strange Adventure, how could I think with Temper, of passing my Days among *Yahoos*, and relapsing into my old Corruptions, for want of Examples to lead and keep me within the Paths of Virtue. That I knew too well upon what solid Reasons all the Determinations of the wise *Houyhnhnms* were founded, not to be shaken by Arguments of mine, a miserable

Yahoo; and therefore after presenting him with my humble Thanks for the Offer of his Servants Assistance in making a Vessel, and desiring a reasonable Time for so difficult a Work, I told him I would endeavour to preserve a wretched Being; and, if ever I returned to *England*, was not without Hopes of being useful to my own Species, by celebrating the Praises of the renowned *Houyhnhnms*, and proposing their Virtues to the Imitation of Mankind.

MY Master in a few Words made me a very gracious Reply, allowed me the space of two *Months* to finish my Boat; and ordered the Sorrel Nag, my Fellow-Servant, (for so at this distance I may presume to call him) to follow my Instructions, because I told my Master, that his Help would be sufficient, and I knew he had a Tenderness for me.

IN his Company my first Business was to go to that Part of the Coast, where my rebellious Crew had ordered me to be set on Shore. I got upon a Height, and looking on every side into the Sea, fancied I saw a small Island, towards the *North-East*: I took out my Pocket-glass, and could then clearly distinguish it about five Leagues off, as I computed; but it appeared to the Sorrel Nag to be only a blue Cloud: For, as he had no Conception of any Country beside his own, so he could not be as expert in distinguishing remote Objects at Sea, as we who so much converse in that Element.

AFTER I had discovered this Island, I considered no farther; but resolved, it should, if possible, be the first

 Place

Place of my Banishment, leaving the Consequence to Fortune.

I RETURNED home, and consulting with the Sorrel Nag, we went into a Copse at some distance, where I with my Knife, and he with a sharp Flint fastened very artificially, after their manner, to a wooden Handle, cut down several Oak Wattles about the Thickness of a Walking-staff, and some larger Pieces. But I shall not trouble the Reader with a particular Description of my own Mechanicks; let it suffice to say, that in six Weeks time, with the Help of the Sorrel Nag, who performed the Parts that required most Labour, I finished a sort of *Indian* Canoo, but much larger, covering it with the Skins of *Yahoos* well stitched together, with hempen Threads of my own making. My Sail was likewise composed of the Skins of the same Animal; but I made use of the youngest I could get, the older being too tough and thick, and I likewise provided my self with four Paddles. I laid in a Stock of boiled Flesh, of Rabbets and Fowls, and took with me two Vessels, one filled with Milk, and the other with Water.

I TRIED my Canoo in a large Pond near my Master's House, and then corrected in it what was amiss; stopping all the Chinks with *Yahoos* Tallow, till I found it stanch, and able to bear me, and my Freight. And when it was as compleat as I could possibly make it, I had it drawn on a Carriage very gently by *Yahoos*, to the Sea-side, under the Conduct of the Sorrel Nag, and another Servant.

 WHEN

WHEN all was ready, and the Day came for my Departure, I took leave of my Master and Lady, and the whole Family, mine Eyes flowing with Tears, and my Heart quite sunk with Grief. But his Honour, out of Curiosity, and perhaps (if I may speak it without Vanity) partly out of Kindness, was determined to see me in my Canoo, and got several of his neighbouring Friends to accompany him. I was forced to wait above an Hour for the Tide, and then observing the Wind very fortunately bearing towards the Island, to which I intended to steer my Course, I took a second Leave of my Master: But as I was going to prostrate myself to kiss his Hoof, he did me the Honour to raise it gently to my Mouth. I am not ignorant how much I have been censured for mentioning this last Particular. For my Detractors are pleased to think it improbable, that so Illustrious a Person should descend to give so great a Mark of Distinction to a Creature so inferior as I. Neither have I forgot, how apt some Travellers are to boast of extraordinary Favours they have received. But if these Censurers were better acquainted with the noble and courteous Disposition of the *Houyhnhnms*, they would soon change their Opinion.

I PAID my respects to the rest of the *Houyhnhnms* in his Honour's Company; then getting into my Canoo, I pushed off from Shore.

CHAP. XI

The Author's dangerous Voyage. He arrives at New-Holland, *hoping to settle there. Is wounded with an Arrow by one of the Natives. Is seized and carried by Force into a* Portugueze *Ship. The great Civilities of the Captain. The Author arrives at* England.

I BEGAN this desperate Voyage on *February* 15, $171\frac{4}{5}$. at 9 o'Clock in the Morning. The Wind was very favourable; however, I made use at first only of my Paddles, but considering I should soon be weary, and that the Wind might chop about, I ventured to set up my little Sail; and thus, with the help of the Tide, I went at the rate of a League and a half an Hour, as near as I could guess. My Master and his Friends continued on the Shoar, till I was almost out of sight; and I often heard the Sorrel Nag (who always loved me) crying out, *Hnuy illa nyha majah Yahoo*, Take care of thyself, gentle *Yahoo*.

My Design was, if possible, to discover some small Island uninhabited, yet sufficient by my Labour to furnish me with the Necessaries of Life, which I would have thought a greater Happiness than to be first Minister in the Politest Court of *Europe*; so horrible was the Idea I conceived of returning to live in the Society and under the Government of *Yahoos*. For in such a Solitude as I desired, I could at least enjoy my own Thoughts, and reflect with Delight on the Virtues

of those inimitable *Houyhnhnms*, without any Opportunity of degenerating into the Vices and Corruptions of my own Species.

THE Reader may remember what I related when my Crew conspired against me, and confined me to my Cabbin. How I continued there several Weeks, without knowing what Course we took; and when I was put a Shoar in the Long-boat, how the Sailors told me with Oaths, whether true or false, that they knew not in what Part of the World we were. However, I did then believe us to be about ten Degrees *Southward* of the *Cape of Good-Hope*, or about 45 Degrees *Southern* Latitude, as I gathered from some general Words I overheard among them, being I supposed to the *South-East* in their intended Voyage to *Madagascar*. And although this were little better than Conjecture, yet I resolved to steer my Course *Eastward*, hoping to reach the *South-West* Coast of *New-Holland*, and perhaps some such Island as I desired, lying *Westward* of it. The Wind was full *West*, and by six in the Evening I computed I had gone *Eastward* at least eighteen Leagues, when I spied a very small Island about half a League off, which I soon reached. It was nothing but a Rock with one Creek naturally arched by the force of Tempests. Here I put in my Canoo, and climbing up a part of the Rock, I could plainly discover Land to the *East*, extending from *South* to *North*. I lay all Night in my Canoo, and repeating my Voyage early in the Morning, I arrived in seven Hours to the *South-East* Point of *New Holland*. This confirmed me in the opinion I have long entertained, that the *Maps* and *Charts* place this Country at least three

Degrees more to the *East* than it really is; which Thought I communicated many Years ago to my worthy Friend Mr. *Herman Moll*, and gave him my Reasons for it, although he hath rather chosen to follow other Authors.

I saw no Inhabitants in the Place where I landed, and being unarmed, I was afraid of venturing far into the Country. I found some Shell-fish on the Shore, and eat them raw, not daring to kindle a Fire, for fear of being discovered by the Natives. I continued three Days feeding on Oysters and Limpits, to save my own Provisions; and I fortunately found a Brook of excellent Water, which gave me great Relief.

On the fourth Day, venturing out early a little too far, I saw twenty or thirty Natives upon a Height, not above five hundred Yards from me. They were stark naked, Men, Women, and Children round a Fire, as I could discover by the Smoak. One of them spied me, and gave notice to the rest; five of them advanced towards me leaving the Women and Children at the Fire. I made what haste I could to the Shore, and getting into my Canoo, shoved off: The Savages observing me retreat, ran after me; and before I could get far enough into the Sea, discharged an Arrow, which wounded me deeply on the inside of my left Knee (I shall carry the Mark to my Grave.) I apprehended the Arrow might be poisoned, and paddling out of the reach of their Darts (being a calm Day) I made a shift to suck the Wound, and dress it as well as I could.

I WAS at a Loss what to do, for I durst not return to the same Landing-place, but stood to the *North*, and was forced to paddle; for the Wind though very gentle was against me, blowing *North-West*. As I was looking about for a secure Landing-place, I saw a Sail to the *North North-East*, which appearing every Minute more visible, I was in some Doubt, whether I should wait for them or no, but at last my Detestation of the *Yahoo* Race prevailed, and turning my Canoo, I sailed and paddled together to the *South*, and got into the same Creek from whence I set out in the Morning, choosing rather to trust myself among these *Barbarians*, than live with *European Yahoos*. I drew up my Canoo as close as I could to the Shore, and hid myself behind a Stone by the little Brook, which, as I have already said, was excellent Water.

THE Ship came within half a League of this Creek, and sent her Long-Boat with Vessels to take in fresh Water (for the Place it seems was very well known) but I did not observe it till the Boat was almost on Shore, and it was too late to seek another Hiding-place. The Seamen at their landing observed my Canoo, and rummaging it all over, easily conjectured that the Owner could not be far off. Four of them well-armed searched every Cranny and Lurking-hole, till at last they found me flat on my Face behind the Stone. They gazed awhile in admiration at my strange uncouth Dress, my Coat made of Skins, my wooden soaled Shoes, and my furred Stockings; from whence, however, they concluded I was not a Native of the Place, who all go naked. One of the Seamen in *Portugueze* bid me rise, and asked who I was. I understood that Language

very well, and getting upon my Feet, said, I was a poor *Yahoo*, banished from the *Houyhnhnms*, and desired they would please to let me depart. They admired to hear me answer them in their own Tongue, and saw by my Complexion I must be an *European*; but were at a loss to know what I meant by *Yahoos* and *Houyhnhnms*, and at the same time fell a laughing at my strange Tone in speaking, which resembled the Neighing of a Horse. I trembled all the while betwixt Fear and Hatred: I again desired leave to depart, and was gently moving to my Canoo; but they laid hold on me, desiring to know, What Country I was of? whence I came? with many other Questions. I told them, I was born in *England*, from whence I came about five Years ago, and then their Country and ours were at Peace. I therefore hoped they would not treat me as an Enemy, since I meant them no harm, but was a poor *Yahoo*, seeking some desolate Place where to pass the Remainder of his unfortunate Life.

When they began to talk, I thought I never heard or saw any thing so unnatural; for it appeared to me as monstrous as if a Dog or a Cow should speak in *England*, as a *Yahoo* in *Houyhnhnm-land*. The honest *Portugueze* were equally amazed at my strange Dress, and the odd manner of delivering my Words, which however they understood very well. They spoke to me with great Humanity, and said they were sure their Captain would carry me *gratis* to *Lisbon*, from whence I might return to my own Country; that two of the Seamen would go back to the Ship, inform the Captain of what they had seen, and receive his Orders; in the mean time, unless I would give my solemn Oath not

to fly, they would secure me by Force. I thought it best to comply with their Proposal. They were very curious to know my Story, but I gave them very little Satisfaction; and they all conjectured, that my Misfortunes had impaired my Reason. In two Hours the Boat, which went loaden with Vessels of Water, returned with the Captain's Commands to fetch me on Board. I fell on my Knees to preserve my Liberty; but all was in vain, and the Men having tied me with Cords, heaved me into the Boat, from whence I was taken into the Ship, and from thence into the Captain's Cabbin.

HIS Name was *Pedro de Mendez*, he was a very courteous and generous Person; he entreated me to give some Account of myself, and desired to know what I would eat or drink; said, I should be used as well as himself, and spoke so many obliging things, that I wondered to find such Civilities from a *Yahoo*. However, I remained silent and sullen; I was ready to faint at the very smell of him and his Men. At last I desired something to eat out of my own Canoo; but he ordered me a Chicken and some excellent Wine, and then directed that I should be put to Bed in a very clean Cabbin. I would not undress myself, but lay on the Bed-cloaths, and in half an Hour stole out, when I thought the Crew was at Dinner, and getting to the side of the Ship was going to leap into the Sea, and swim for my Life, rather than continue among *Yahoos*. But one of the Seamen prevented me, and having informed the Captain, I was chained to my Cabbin.

AFTER Dinner *Don Pedro* came to me, and desired to know my Reason for so desperate an Attempt:

 assured

assured me he only meant to do me all the Service he was able; and spoke so very movingly, that at last I descended to treat him like an Animal which had some little portion of Reason. I gave him a very short Relation of my Voyage, of the Conspiracy against me by my own Men, of the Country where they set me on Shore, and of my three Years Residence there. All which he looked upon as if it were a Dream or a Vision; whereat I took great Offence; for I had quite forgot the Faculty of Lying, so peculiar to *Yahoos* in all Countries where they preside, and, consequently the Disposition of suspecting Truth in others of their own Species. I asked him, Whether it were the Custom in his Country to *say the Thing that was not?* I assured him I had almost forgot what he meant by Falsehood, and if I had lived a thousand Years in *Houyhnhnmland*, I should never have heard a Lye from the meanest Servant; that I was altogether indifferent whether he believed me or no; but however, in return for his Favours, I would give so much Allowance to the Corruption of his Nature, as to answer any Objection he would please to make, and then he might easily discover the Truth.

The Captain, a wise Man, after many Endeavours to catch me tripping in some part of my Story, at last began to have a better Opinion of my Veracity, and the rather, because he confessed, he met with a *Dutch* Skipper, who pretended to have landed with Five others of his Crew upon a certain Island or Continent *South* of *New-Holland*, where they went for fresh Water, and observed a Horse driving before him several Animals exactly resembling those I described

 under

under the Name of *Yahoos*, with some other Particulars, which the Captain said he had forgot; because he then concluded them all to be Lies. But he added, that since I professed so inviolable an Attachment to Truth, I must give him my Word of Honour to bear him company in this Voyage, without attempting any thing against my Life, or else he would continue me a Prisoner till we arrived at *Lisbon*. I gave him the Promise he required; but at the same time protested that I would suffer the greatest Hardships rather than return to live among *Yahoos*.

OUR Voyage passed without any considerable Accident. In Gratitude to the Captain I sometimes sat with him at his earnest Request, and strove to conceal my Antipathy to human Kind, although it often broke out, which he suffered to pass without Observation. But the greatest part of the Day, I confined myself to my Cabbin, to avoid seeing any of the Crew. The Captain had often entreated me to strip myself of my savage Dress, and offered to lend me the best Suit of Cloaths he had. This I would not be prevailed on to accept, abhorring to cover myself with any thing that had been on the Back of a *Yahoo*. I only desired he would lend me two clean Shirts, which having been washed since he wore them, I believed would not so much defile me. These I changed every second Day, and washed them myself.

WE arrived at *Lisbon*, *Nov.* 5. 1715. At our landing the Captain forced me to cover myself with his Cloak, to prevent the Rabble from crouding about me. I was conveyed to his own House, and at my earnest Re-

 quest,

quest, he led me up to the highest Room backwards. I conjured him to conceal from all Persons what I had told him of the *Houyhnhnms*, because the least hint of such a Story would not only draw Numbers of People to see me, but probably, put me in Danger of being imprisoned, or burnt by the *Inquisition*. The Captain persuaded me to accept a Suit of Cloaths newly made, but I would not suffer the Taylor to take my Measure; however, *Don Pedro* being almost of my Size, they fitted me well enough. He accoutred me with other Necessaries all new, which I aired for twenty-four Hours before I would use them.

The Captain had no Wife, nor above three Servants, none of which were suffered to attend at Meals, and his whole Deportment was so obliging, added to very good *human* Understanding, that I really began to tolerate his Company. He gained so far upon me, that I ventured to look out of the back Window. By degrees I was brought into another Room, from whence I peeped into the Street, but drew my Head back in a Fright. In a Week's time he seduced me down to the Door. I found my Terror gradually lessened, but my Hatred and Contempt seemed to encrease. I was at last bold enough to walk the Street in his Company, but kept my Nose well stopped with Rue, or sometimes with Tobacco.

In ten Days, *Don Pedro*, to whom I had given some account of my Domestick Affairs, put it upon me as a matter of Honour and Conscience, that I ought to return to my native Country, and live at home with my Wife and Children. He told me, there was an

English Ship in the Port just ready to sail, and he would furnish me with all things necessary. It would be tedious to repeat his Arguments, and my Contradictions. He said it was altogether impossible to find such a solitary Island as I desired to live in; but I might command in my own House, and pass my time in a manner as recluse as I pleased.

I COMPLIED at last, finding I could not do better. I left *Lisbon* the 24th Day of *November*, in an *English* Merchant-Man, but who was the Master I never enquired. *Don Pedro* accompanied me to the Ship, and lent me Twenty Pounds. He took kind leave of me, and embraced me at parting, which I bore as well as I could. During the last Voyage I had no Commerce with the Master or any of his Men, but pretending I was sick kept close in my Cabbin. On the Fifth of *December*, 1715. we cast Anchor in the *Downs* about Nine in the Morning, and at Three in the Afternoon I got safe to my House at *Rotherhith*.

MY Wife and Family received me with great Surprize and Joy, because they concluded me certainly dead; but I must freely confess the sight of them filled me only with Hatred, Disgust, and Contempt, and the more by reflecting on the near Alliance I had to them. For, although since my unfortunate Exile from the *Houyhnhnm* Country, I had compelled myself to tolerate the Sight of *Yahoos*, and to converse with *Don Pedro de Mendez*; yet my Memory and Imaginations were perpetually filled with the Virtues and Ideas of those exalted *Houyhnhnms*. And when I began to consider, that by copulating with one of the *Yahoo*-Species

I became a Parent of more, it struck me with the utmost Shame, Confusion and Horror.

As soon as I entered the House, my Wife took me in her Arms, and kissed me, at which having not been used to the Touch of that odious Animal for so many Years, I fell in a Swoon for almost an Hour. At the Time I am writing it is Five Years since my last Return to *England*: During the first Year I could not endure my Wife or Children in my Presence, the very Smell of them was intolerable, much less could I suffer them to eat in the same Room. To this hour they dare not presume to touch my Bread, or drink out of the same Cup, neither was I ever able to let one of them take me by the Hand. The first Money I laid out was to buy two young Stone-Horses which I keep in a good Stable, and next to them the Groom is my greatest Favourite; for I feel my Spirits revived by the Smell he contracts in the Stable. My Horses understand me tolerably well; I converse with them at least four Hours every Day. They are Strangers to Bridle or Saddle, they live in great Amity with me, and Friendship to each other.

CHAP. XII

The Author's Veracity. His Design in publishing this Work. His Censure of those Travellers who swerve from the Truth. The Author clears himself from any sinister Ends in writing. An Objection answered. The Method of planting Colonies. His Native Country commended. The Right of the Crown to those Countries described by the Author is justified. The Difficulty of conquering them. The Author takes his last leave of the Reader: proposeth his Manner of Living for the future, gives good Advice, and concludes.

THUS, Gentle Reader, I have given thee a faithful History of my Travels for Sixteen Years, and above Seven Months, wherein I have not been so studious of Ornament as Truth. I could perhaps like others have astonished thee with strange improbable Tales; but I rather chose to relate plain Matter of Fact in the simplest Manner and Style; because my principal Design was to inform, and not to amuse thee.

IT is easy for us who travel into remote Countries, which are seldom visited by *Englishmen* or other *Europeans*, to form Descriptions of wonderful Animals both at Sea and Land. Whereas a Traveller's chief Aim should be to make men wiser and better, and to improve their Minds by the bad as well as good Example of what they deliver concerning foreign Places.

I COULD heartily wish a Law was enacted, that every Traveller, before he were permitted to publish his Voyages, should be obliged to make Oath before the *Lord High Chancellor* that all he intended to print was absolutely true to the best of his Knowledge; for then the World would no longer be deceived as it usually is, while some Writers, to make their Works pass the better upon the Publick, impose the grossest Falsities on the unwary Reader. I have perused several Books of Travels with great Delight in my younger Days; but having since gone over most Parts of the Globe, and been able to contradict many fabulous Accounts from my own Observation, it hath given me a great Disgust against this Part of Reading, and some Indignation to see the Credulity of Mankind so impudently abused. Therefore since my Acquaintance were pleased to think my poor Endeavours might not be unacceptable to my Country, I imposed on myself as a Maxim, never to be swerved from, that I would *strictly adhere to Truth*; neither indeed can I be ever under the least temptations to vary from it, while I retain in my Mind the Lectures and Example of my Noble Master, and the other Illustrious *Houyhnhnms*, of whom I had so long the Honour to be an humble Hearer.

——*Nec si miserum Fortuna Sinonem*
Finxit, vanum etiam, mendacemque improba finget.

I KNOW very well how little Reputation is to be got by Writings which require neither Genius nor Learning, nor indeed any other Talent, except a good Memory, or an exact *Journal*. I know likewise, that

Writers of Travels, like *Dictionary*-Makers, are sunk into Oblivion by the Weight and Bulk of those who come after, and therefore lie uppermost. And it is highly probable, that such Travellers who shall hear-after visit the Countries described in this Work of mine, may by detecting my Errors, (if there be any) and adding many new Discoveries of their own, justle me out of Vogue, and stand in my Place, making the World forget that I was ever an Author. This indeed would be too great a Mortification if I wrote for Fame: But, as my sole Intention was the PUBLICK GOOD, I cannot be altogether disappointed. For who can read of the Virtues I have mentioned in the Glorious *Houyhnhnms*, without being ashamed of his own Vices, when he considers himself as the reasoning, governing Animal of his Country? I shall say nothing of those remote Nations where *Yahoos* preside, amongst which the least corrupted are the *Brobdingnagians*, whose wise Maxims in Morality and Government, it would be our Happiness to observe. But I forbear descanting farther, and rather leave the Judicious Reader to his own Remarks and Applications.

I AM not a little pleased that this Work of mine can possibly meet with no Censurers: For what Objections can be made against a Writer who relates only plain Facts that happened in such distant Countries, where we have not the least Interest with respect either to Trade or Negotiations? I have carefully avoided every Fault with which common Writers of Travels are often too justly charged. Besides, I meddle not with any *Party*, but write without Passion, Prejudice, or Ill-will against any Man or number of Men whatsoever. I

 write

write for the noblest End, to inform and instruct Mankind, over whom I may, without Breach of Modesty, pretend to some Superiority from the Advantages I received by conversing so long among the most accomplished *Houyhnhnms*. I write without any view towards Profit or Praise. I never suffer a Word to pass that may look like Reflection, or possibly give the least Offence even to those who are most ready to take it. So that I hope I may with Justice pronounce myself an Author perfectly blameless, against whom the Tribes of Answerers, Considerers, Observers, Reflecters, Detecters, Remarkers will never be able to find Matter for exercising their Talents.

I CONFESS, it was whispered to me, that I was bound in Duty as a Subject of *England*, to have given in a Memorial to a Secretary of State, at my first coming over; because, whatever Lands are discovered by a Subject belong to the Crown. But I doubt whether our Conquests in the Countries I treat of, would be as easy as those of *Ferdinando Cortez* over the naked *Americans*. The *Lilliputians* I think, are hardly worth the Charge of a Fleet and Army to reduce them, and I question whether it might be prudent or safe to attempt the *Brobdingnagians*. Or whether an *English* Army would be much at their ease with the Flying Island over their Heads. The *Houyhnhnms*, indeed, appear not to be so well prepared for War, a Science to which they are perfect Strangers, and especially against missive Weapons. However, supposing myself to be a Minister of State, I could never give my Advice for invading them. Their Prudence, Unanimity, Unacquaintedness with Fear, and their Love of their

 Country

Country would amply supply all Defects in the Military Art. Imagine Twenty thousand of them breaking into the midst of an *European* Army, confounding the Ranks, overturning the Carriages, battering the Warriors Faces into Mummy, by terrible Yerks from their hinder Hoofs. For they would well deserve the Character given to *Augustus*; *Recalcitrat undique tutus*. But instead of Proposals for conquering that magnanimous Nation, I rather wish they were in a Capacity or Disposition to send a sufficient Number of their Inhabitants for civilizing *Europe*, by teaching us the first Principles of Honour, Justice, Truth, Temperance, Publick Spirit, Fortitude, Chastity, Friendship, Benevolence, and Fidelity. The *Names* of all which Virtues are still retained among us in most Languages, and are to be met with in some modern as well as ancient Authors; which I am able to assert from my own small Reading.

BUT I had another Reason which made me less forward to enlarge his Majesty's Dominions by my Discovery. To say the truth, I had conceived a few Scruples with relation to the Distributive Justice of Princes upon those Occasions. For instance, A Crew of Pyrates are driven by a Storm they know not whither, at length a Boy discovers Land from the Top-mast, they go on Shore to Rob and Plunder; they see an harmless People, are entertained with Kindness, they give the Country a new Name, they take formal Possession of it for their King, they set up a rotten Plank or a Stone for a Memorial, they murder two or three Dozen of the Natives, bring away a Couple more by Force for a Sample, return home, and get

 their

their Pardon. Here commences a new Dominion acquired with a Title by *Divine Right*. Ships are sent with the first Opportunity, the Natives driven out or destroyed, their Princes tortured to discover their Gold; a free Licence given to all Acts of Inhumanity and Lust, the Earth reeking with the Blood of its Inhabitants: And this execrable Crew of Butchers employed in so pious an Expedition, is a *modern Colony* sent to convert and civilize an idolatrous and barbarous People.

But this Description, I confess, doth by no means affect the *British* Nation, who may be an Example to the whole World for their Wisdom, Care, and Justice in Planting Colonies; their liberal Endowments for the Advancement of Religion and Learning; their choice of devout and able Pastors to propagate *Christianity*; their Caution in stocking their Provinces with People of sober Lives and Conversations from this the Mother Kingdom; their strict regard to the distribution of Justice, in supplying the Civil Administration through all their Colonies with Officers of the greatest Abilities, utter strangers to Corruption; and to crown all, by sending the most Vigilant and Virtuous Governors, who have no other Views than the Happiness of the People over whom they preside, and the Honour of the King their Master.

But, as those Countries which I have described, do not appear to have a Desire of being conquered, and enslaved, murdered or driven out by Colonies, nor abound either in Gold, Silver, Sugar or Tobacco; I did humbly conceive they were by no means proper

Objects of our Zeal, our Valour, or our Interest. However, if those whom it may concern, think fit to be of another Opinion, I am ready to depose, when I shall be lawfully called, that no *European* did ever visit these Countries before me. I mean, if the Inhabitants ought to be believed; unless a Dispute may arise about the two *Yahoos*, said to have been seen many Ages ago on a Mountain in *Houyhnhnmland*, from whence the Opinion is, that the Race of those Brutes hath descended; and these, for any thing I know, may have been *English*, which indeed I was apt to suspect from the Lineaments of their Posterity's Countenances, although very much defaced. But, how far that will go to make out a Title, I leave to the Learned in Colony-Law.

BUT as to the Formality of taking Possession in my Sovereign's Name, it never came once into my Thoughts; and if it had, yet as my Affairs then stood, I should perhaps in point of Prudence and Self-preservation, have put it off to a better Opportunity.

HAVING thus answered the only Objection that can ever be raised against me as a Traveller, I here take a final Leave of all my Courteous Readers, and return to enjoy my own Speculations in my little Garden at *Redriff*, to apply those excellent Lessons of Virtue which I learned among the *Houyhnhnms*, to instruct the *Yahoos* of my own Family as far as I shall find them docible Animals, to behold my Figure often in a Glass, and thus if possible habituate myself by time to tolerate the sight of a human Creature: To lament the Brutality of *Houyhnhnms* in my own Country, but always treat

 their

their Persons with Respect, for the sake of my noble Master, his Family, his Friends, and the whole *Houyhnhnm* Race, whom these of ours have the Honour to resemble in all their Lineaments, however their Intellectuals came to degenerate.

I BEGAN last Week to permit my Wife to sit at Dinner with me, at the farthest End of a long Table, and to answer (but with the utmost brevity) the few Questions I ask'd her. Yet the smell of a *Yahoo* continuing very offensive, I always keep my Nose well stopt with Rue, Lavender, or Tobacco-leaves. And although it be hard for a Man late in life to remove old Habits, I am not altogether out of Hopes in some time to suffer a Neighbour *Yahoo* in my Company, without the Apprehensions I am yet under of his Teeth or his Claws.

MY Reconcilement to the *Yahoo*-kind in general might not be so difficult, if they would be content with those Vices and Follies only, which Nature hath intitled them to. I am not in the least provoked at the Sight of a Lawyer, a Pick-pocket, a Colonel, a Fool, a Lord, a Gamester, a Politician, a Whore-master, a Physician, an Evidence, a Suborner, an Attorney, a Traitor, or the like: This is all according to the due Course of Things: But when I behold a Lump of Deformity, and Diseases both in Body and Mind, smitten with *Pride*, it immediately breaks all the Measures of my Patience; neither shall I be ever able to comprehend how such an Animal and such a Vice could tally together. The wise and virtuous *Houyhnhnms*, who abound in all Excellencies that can adorn a Rational Creature, have no Name for this

Vice in their Language, which hath no Terms to express any thing that is evil, except those whereby they describe the detestable Qualities of their *Yahoos*, among which they were not able to distinguish this of Pride, for want of thoroughly understanding Human Nature, as it sheweth itself in other Countries, where that Animal presides. But I, who had more Experience could plainly observe some Rudiments of it among the wild *Yahoos*.

BUT the *Houyhnhnms*, who live under the Government of Reason, are no more proud of the good Qualities they possess, than I should be for not wanting a Leg or an Arm, which no Man in his Wits would boast of, although he must be miserable without them. I dwell the longer upon this Subject from the Desire I have to make the Society of an *English Yahoo* by any means not insupportable, and therefore I here entreat those who have any Tincture of this absurd Vice, that they will not presume to come in my Sight.

FINIS.

APPENDIXES AND NOTES

APPENDIX I

FORD'S LIST OF ERRATA, 3 January 1726[7]

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's List*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART I	*Page*	*Line*			*Page*	*Line*	
CHAP. I	22	13	Use	Uses	25	18	
CHAP. II	36	11/12	of Council	of his . . .	33	20	
CHAP. V	79	17	arrived to	. . . at	59	18	
	80	23	bold	boldest	60	9	
CHAP. VIII	144	5	I left	I had left	97	32	
	145	8	Lilliput	Blefuscu	98	21	
PART II							
CHAP. I	9	14	I made	However, I . . .	112	5	
CHAP. II	30	6/7	toward	forward	124	5	Faulkner,'towardly'.
CHAP. III	47	2	would	perhaps would	134	11	
	48	24	had	and had	135	15	
CHAP. V	98	11	Honour	Courage	164	14	
CHAP. VI	108	4	Praise	Praises	170	3	
	111	15	all	several	172	1	
	120	11	were	are	176	31	
	120	13	were	are	177	1	

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's List*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART II	*Page*	*Line*			*Page*	*Line*	
CHAP. VII	133	3	from Inclemencies	from the . . .	184	10	
	133	15	Man	Men	184	18	
CHAP. VIII	140	15/16	not directly over	'not directly over, the Sense is imperfect.'	188	14	See Appendix II.
	156	16	own Presence	Presence	197	14	
	161	1	necessary	. . . for me	199	29	
PART III							
CHAP. II	31	15	* Spirits	Sprites	226	7	
	34	5	Womenkind	Womankind	227	23	
CHAP. III	42	16	Goodness. For this Advantage . . .	'Goodness For this Advantage &c, the Sense is imperfect.'	235	6	See Appendix II.
	42	17	the	their	235	7	
	44	21	Death	Dearth	236	11	
CHAP. IV	49	13	here	there	238	21	
	59	16	* Act	act	244	20	
CHAP. V	71	23	both	Books	253	26	
	73	10	or	as	254	21	
	74	8	in the Book	in Books	255	5	

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's List*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART III	*Page*	*Line*			*Page*	*Line*	
CHAP. V	77	7	Saddles	Sacks	256	26	
	78	4	the	thus	257	9	
CHAP. VI	83	6	method	methods	259	27	
	85	11	dispose of them	dispose them	261	4	
	87	15	Persons	Person's	262	10	
	89	7	take	to take	263	7	
	90	11 ff.		'P. 90 to the end of the Chapter seems to have much of the Author's manner of thinking, but in many places wants his Spirit.'	263	27 ff.	See Appendix II.
CHAP. VII	94	7	was	is	266	4	
	101	5	in	into	270	4	
	101	20/21		'Assembly of Somewhat a latter Age, this must have been altered, for the word Assembly follows immediately after.'	270	15	See Appendix II.
	102	21	Ancestors	Ancestor	271	1/2	
CHAP. VIII	110	4	Faction	Factions	275	12	

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's List*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART III	*Page*	*Line*			*Page*	*Line*	
CHAP. IX	119	3	1711	1709	280	15	Faulkner, '1708'.
	119	12	in a Passage	in the . . .	280	22	
	121	6	they never	they had never	281	28	
CHAP. X	133	24	Languages	Language	288	28	
	133	25	Fashions, Dress	Fashions of . . .	288	29	
	134	14	* Choice	choice	289	9	
	137	18	these	those	291	2	
	138	6	eldest	oldest	291	12	
	140	2	were	they were	292	12	
	141	18	come	comes	293	10	
	142	20	continuing	continue	293	29	
	142	22	forgot	forget	293	30	
	144	1	brought me	brought to me	294	19	
	144	14	sort	sorts	294	28	
CHAP. XI	152	21	conver	convey	300	3	
	154	3	petformed	performed	300	24	
	154	21	safe to	safe at	301	4	Ford's Book, 'safely at'. See Appendix II.
PART IV							
CHAP. I	8	2	hooked	and hooked	315	3	

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's List*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART IV	*Page*	*Line*			*Page*	*Line*	
CHAP. I	8	5/6	long lank Hair on their Faces, nor	'long lank Hair on their Faces, nor &c. This Passage puzled me for some time, it should be long lank hair on their Heads, but none on their Faces, nor.'	315	6	See Appendix II. Motte's fourth 8vo reads: 'on their Backs, but none on their Faces.' Faulkner: 'on their Heads, and only a Sort of Down . . .'
	17	2	them	him	320	3	
CHAP. II	31	12	fare	fared	328	7	
CHAP. III	42	18	having	my having	334	10	
CHAP. IV	49	6	when	where	338	8	
	50	7	treasted	treated	338	26	See Introduction, p. lxii.
	50	10	old	sold	338	27	
	50	11	ill	till	338	28	
	51	7	meanest	weakest	339	11	
	51	10	rouling	rolling	339	13	
	53	5	Office	Offices	340	14	
	54	12	my	one of my	341	4	
	56	11	is	it is	342	7	
	56	15	*Queen*	a Queen	342	10	

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's List*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART IV	*Page*	*Line*			*Page*	*Line*	
CHAP. V	60	10	of which	which	344	8	
	65	6	those	these	346	29	
	65	13	another	a	347	1	
	67	3		'Seafights. is there no mention of Land fights?'	347	26	See Appendix II.
	68	16	my	his	348	24	
	69	17 ff.		'toward the end &c. manifestly most barbarously corrupted, full of Flatnesses, cant Words, and Softenings unworthy the Dignity, Spirit, Candour, & Frankness of the Author. By that admirable Instance of the Cow it is plain the Satyr is design'd against the Profession in general, & not only against Attornys, or, as they are there smartly styl'd, Pettifoggers. You ought in Justice to re-	349	11 ff.	See Appendix II.

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's List*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART IV	*Page*	*Line*			*Page*	*Line*	
CHAP. V	69	17 ff. (*cont.*)		store those twelve Pages to the true Reading.'	349	11 ff. (*cont.*)	
CHAP. VI	85	1	and	or	357	24	
	86	3	operated the one contrary to each other	operated contrary . . .	358	13	
	88	12	inferior	inferior posterior	359	21	
	90	12 ff.		'Part of P. 90 & 91 false and silly, infallibly not the same Author.'	360	21 ff.	See Appendix II.
	93	14		'at last by an Act of Indemnity, abrupt.'			See Appendix II.
	97	6		'a great Man. Nonsence. the Author is not talking of great Men, but of Men highly born. I believe it should be *of a Noble* Birth, or rather *Marks of Noble Blood.* I take this Page to be likewise corrupted from some low Expressions in it.'			See Appendix II.

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's List*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART IV	*Page*	*Line*			*Page*	*Line*	
CHAP. VII	99	3	enlightened	enlarged	365	14	
	109	2	produced the	produced in them the	371	4	
	109	23	taken myself	known to have been taken with success	371	20	
	112	8	with	with the	372	28	
	113	2	the Article	the last Article	373	10	
	113	22	could	did	373	24	Ford notes, ' could follows '.
CHAP. VIII	121	5	scratch	search	377	9	
	127	3	bestow on him	bestow him	380	15	Faulkner, ' bestows on him '.
	130	5	hard and stony	hard stony	382	3/4	
	130	19	were	are	382	13	
CHAP. IX	133	24	or	and	384	2	
	134	8	old Ones	elder	384	8	Faulkner, ' the Older '.
	138	21	Memory	Memorys	386	23	
	141	15	several	certain	388	10	
	144	8	cut	cuts	389	26	
CHAP. X	145	14	Room for	Room to be made for	391	9/10	
	146	16	I made	I also made	391	23	See Appendix II.

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's List*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART IV	*Page*	*Line*			*Page*	*Line*	
CHAP. X	147	19	splenetick	splenaticks	392	16	See Appendix II.
	149	21	the Thoughts	their Thoughts	393	21	
	149	22	their Discourse	the Discourse	393	22	
	152	4	and my	my	394	28	
	157	13	of	of an	397	24	
CHAP. XI	182	15	became	had become	411	1	
CHAP. XII	186	24/25	temptations	Temptation	413	21	
	192	3	some modern	modern	416	16	
	192	9	Discovery	Discoverys	416	20/21	
	194	17/18	a Desire	any Desire	417	28	
	195	1	may concern	more concerns	418	2	

* Not corrected by Ford in his copy of *Gulliver's Travels.*

APPENDIX II

FORD'S CORRECTIONS IN HIS COPY OF 'GULLIVER'S TRAVELS'

With the exception of three verbal or literal corrections Ford notes again in the 'Book' all the errata of his 'Paper'. Only the corrections additional to or differing from those of the 'Paper', and passages written out in full on the blank leaves appear in this Appendix.

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's Book*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART I	*Page*	*Line*			*Page*	*Line*	
Chap. I	8	2	mine	my	17	11	
	15	15	mine	my	21	20	
	17	22	Potio	Potion	22	30	
Chap. II	43	21	mine	my	37	26	
	46	15	mine	my	39	14	
Chap. III	50	18	Purple	Blue	42	5	
	50	19	Yellow	Red	42	5	
	50	19	White	Green	42	6	
	51	18	Purple	Blue	42	23	
	51	19	Yellow	Red	42	24	
	51	20	White	Green	42	24	
Chap. V	80	6	mine	my	59	29	

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's Book*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART I	*Page*	*Line*			*Page*	*Line*	
CHAP. VII	130	17	mine	my	90	1	
CHAP. VIII	138	7	mine	my	94	16	
PART II							
CHAP. I	12	23	mine	my	114	2	
CHAP. II	32	13	Field	Fields	125	16	
CHAP. III	59	14	mine	my	141	13	
	62	8	Extremity	Extremitys	142	31/32	
	63	23	mine	my	143	28	
	65	22	Creatures	Insects	144	31/32	
CHAP. IV	71	23	*English*	European	148	28	
CHAP. VI	119	21/22	may be sometimes the only	are the proper	176	20/21	
CHAP. VII	123	20	that Monarch	that mighty Monarch	179	2	
	131	21	mine	my	183	19	
	136	16/17	Disease to which so many other Governments are subject	Disease to which the whole Race of Mankind is subject	186	9/10	
CHAP. VIII	140	15/16	not directly	just	188	14	See Appendix I.
	144	1	mine	my	190	12	

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's Book*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART II	*Page*	*Line*			*Page*	*Line*	
CHAP. VIII	160	6	mine	my	199	15	
	161	8	mine	my	200	1	
PART III							
CHAP. III	42	16 ff.	in Goodness. For this Advantage . . .	in Goodness. For although their largest Telescopes do not exceed three Feet, they magnify much more than those of an hundred Yards among us, and at the same time shew the Stars with greater Clearness. This Advantage &c.	235	6 ff.	Against l. 16 is written in Ford's hand 'V. Blank Leaf'. This leaf is bound in with another between p. 90 and p. 91, G 5 and G 6 of Part III. Faulkner reads 'those of a Hundred with us, and shew the Stars with greater Clearness.' See Appendix I.
	47	2/3	the whole Mass would fall to the Ground. . . .	About three Years before my Arrival among them, while the King was in his	237	20/21	On the first of two blank leaves, bound between p. 70 and

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's Book*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
	Page	*Line*			*Page*	*Line*	
PART III CHAP. III	47	2/3 (*cont.*)		Progress over his Dominions there happened an extraordinary Accident which had like to have put a Period to the Fate of that Monarchy, at least as it is now instituted. Lindalino the second City in the Kingdom was the first his Majesty visited in his Progress. Three Days after his Departure, the Inhabitants who had often complained of great Oppressions, shut the Town Gates, seized on the Governor, and with incredible Speed and Labour erected four large Towers, one at every Corner of the City (which is an exact Square) equal	237	20/21 (*cont.*)	p. 71, F 3 and F 4, of Part IV, is written in Ford's hand: 'In Part 3. Page 47, add after these words, would fall to the Ground. About three Years . . .' This passage was printed in the Appendix to G. A. Aitken's edition (1896), and first in its proper place in Dennis's edition (1899).

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's Book*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART III CHAP III	*Page* 47	*Line* 2/3 (*cont.*)		in Heighth to a strong pointed Rock that stands directly in the Center of the City. Upon the Top of each Tower, as well as upon the Rock, they fixed a great Loadstone, and in case their Design should fail, they had provided a vast Quantity of the most combustible Fewel, hoping to burst therewith the adamantine Bottom of the Island, if the Loadstone Project should miscarry. It was eight Months before the King had perfect Notice that the Lindalinians were in Rebellion. He then commanded that the Island should be wafted	*Page* 237	*Line* 20/21 (*cont.*)	

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's Book*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART III CHAP. III	*Page* 47	*Line* 2/3 (*cont.*)		over the City. The People were unanimous, and had laid in Store of Provisions, and a great River runs through the middle of the Town. The King hovered over them several Days to deprive them of the Sun and the Rain. He ordered many Packthreads to be let down, yet not a Person offered to send up a Petition, but instead thereof, very bold Demands, the Redress of all their Grievances, great Immunitys, the Choice of their own Governor, and other the like Exorbitances. Upon which his Majesty commanded all the In-	*Page* 237	*Line* 20/21 (*cont.*)	

	Motte, First Edition			Ford's Book	This Edition		Notes
	Page	*Line*			*Page*	*Line*	
PART III CHAP. III	47	2/3 (*cont.*)		habitants of the Island to cast great Stones from the lower Gallery into the Town; but the Citizens had provided against this Mischief by conveying their Persons and Effects into the four Towers, and other strong Buildings, and Vaults under Ground. The King being now determined to reduce this proud People, ordered that the Island should descend gently within fourty Yards of the Top of the Towers and Rock. This was accordingly done; but the Officers employed in that Work found the Descent much speedier than usual,	237	20/21 (*cont.*)	

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's Book*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART III CHAP. III	*Page* 47	*Line* 2/3 (*cont.*)		and by turning the Loadstone could not without great Difficulty keep it in a firm position, but found the Island inclining to fall. They sent the King immediate Intelligence of this astonishing Event and begged his Majesty's Permission to raise the Island higher; the King consented, a general Council was called, and the Officers of the Loadstone ordered to attend. One of the oldest and expertest among them obtained leave to try an Experiment. He took a strong Line of an Hundred Yards, and the Island being raised over the Town	*Page* 237	*Line* 20/21 (*cont.*)	

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's Book*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART III CHAP. III	*Page* 47	*Line* 2/3 (*cont.*)		above the attracting Power they had felt, He fastened a Piece of Adamant to the End of his Line which had in it a Mixture of Iron mineral, of the same Nature with that whereof the Bottom or lower Surface of the Island is composed, and from the lower Gallery let it down slowly towards the Top of the Towers. The Adamant was not descended four Yards, before the Officer felt it drawn so strongly downwards, that he could hardly pull it back. He then threw down several small Pieces of Adamant, and observed that they	*Page* 237	*Line* 20/21 (*cont.*)	

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's Book*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART III CHAP. III	*Page* 47	*Line* 2/3 (*cont.*)		were all violently attracted by the Top of the Tower. The same Experiment was made on the other three Towers, and on the Rock with the same Effect. This Incident broke entirely the King's Measures and (to dwell no longer on other Circumstances) he was forced to give the Town their own Conditions. I was assured by a great Minister, that if the Island had descended so near the Town, as not to be able to raise it self, the Citizens were determined to fix it for ever, to kill the King and all his Servants, and	*Page* 237	*Line* 20/21 (*cont.*)	

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's Book*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART III	*Page*	*Line*			*Page*	*Line*	
CHAP. III	47	2/3 (*cont.*)		entirely change the Government.	237	20/21 (*cont.*)	
CHAP. IV	54	20	and	or	241	29	
CHAP. V	72	13	Paper	Papers	254	4	
	75	15	other	other Project	255	27	
CHAP. VI	86	7	come	came	261	18	
	90	11 ff.	I told him . . .	I told him, that in the Kingdom of Tribnia, by the natives call'd Langden, where I had sojourned some time in my Travels, the Bulk of the People consist in a manner, wholly of Discoverers, Witnesses, Informers, Accusers, Prosecutors, Evidences, Swearers, together with their several subservient, and subaltern Instruments, all under Colours and Conduct of Ministers	263	27 ff.	'I told him . . . the Anagrammatick Method', pp. 90–3, is struck out by Ford, and on a blank leaf, bound in between p. 90 and p. 91, G 5 and G 6, of Part III, the substituted passage is written.

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's Book*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART III CHAP. VI	*Page* 90	*Line* 11 ff. (*cont.*)		of State and their Deputys. The Plots in that Kingdom are usually the Workmanship of those Persons who desire to raise their own Characters of profound Politicians, to restore new Vigor to a crazy Administration, to stifle or divert general Discontents, to fill their Pockets with Forfeitures, and raise or sink the Opinion of publick Credit, as either shall best answer their private Advantage. It is first agreed and setled among them what suspected persons shall be accused of a Plot: then effectual Care is taken to secure all their	*Page* 263	*Line* 27 ff. (*cont.*)	

	Motte, First Edition			Ford's Book	This Edition		Notes
	Page	*Line*			*Page*	*Line*	
PART III CHAP. VI	90	11 ff. (*cont.*)		Letters and Papers, and put the Criminals in Chains. These Papers are delivered to a Set of Artists very dextrous in finding out the mysterious Meanings of Words, Syllables, and Letters. For Instance, they can discover a Close-stool to signify a Privy Council, a Flock of Geese a Senate, a lame Dog an Invader, a Codshead a —, the Plague a standing Army, a Buzzard a prime Minister, the Gout a High Priest, a Gibbet a Secretary of State, a Chamber-pot a Committee of Grandees, a Sieve a Court-Lady, a Broom a Revolution, a Mouse-trap	263	27 ff. (*cont.*)	

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's Book*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART III CHAP. VI	*Page* 90	*Line* 11 ff. (*cont.*)		an Employment, a bottomless Pit the Treasury, a Sink the Court, a Cap and Bells a Favourite, a broken Reed a Court of Justice, an empty Tun a General, a running Sore the Administration. Where this Method fails, they have two others more effectual, which the Learned among them call Acrosticks and Anagrams. First they can decypher all initial Letters into political Meanings. Thus N. shall signify a Plot, B. a Regiment of Horse, L. a Fleet at Sea. Or secondly by transposing the Letters of the Alphabet in any	*Page* 263	*Line* 27 ff. (*cont.*)	

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's Book*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART III	*Page*	*Line*			*Page*	*Line*	
CHAP. VI	90	11 ff. (*cont.*)		suspected Paper, they can discover the deepest Designs of a discontented Party. So, for Example, if I should say in a Letter to a Friend, *Our Brother Tom has just got the Piles*, a skillful Decypherer would discover that the same Letters which compose that Sentence, may be analysed into the following Words; *Resist; a Plot is brought home, The Tour.* And this is the Anagrammatick Method.	263	27 ff. (*cont.*)	
CHAP. VII	101	20/21	an Assembly of somewhat a latter Age	a modern Representative	270	14/15	See Appendix I.
	103	9	mine	my	271	10	
CHAP. VIII	106	23	pretend	pretended	273	19	A correction of old

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's Book*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART III	*Page*	*Line*			*Page*	*Line*	
							standing, but doubtfully in Ford's hand.
CHAP. XI	154	21	safe to	safely at	301	4	See Appendix I.
PART IV THE CONTENTS.							
(CHAP. VI)	A 3a		*A Continuation of the State of* England; *so well governed by a Queen as to need no first Minister. The Character of such an one in some* European *Courts.*	*A Continuation of the State of* England. *The Character of* a first Minister.	306		
CHAP. IV	54	8	mine	my	341	1	
	55	11	the Matter	that Matter	341	21	
CHAP. V	64	7	when	where	346	12	
	65	13	are	is	347	1	
	65	14	of Princes	of beggarly Princes	347	1	See Appendix I.

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's Book*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART IV	*Page*	*Line*			*Page*	*Line*	
CHAP. V	65	20/21	many *Northern* Parts of *Europe*	Germany and other *Northern* Parts of *Europe*	347	6	Ford reads, p. 65, ll. 13–21: 'There is likewise a kind of beggarly Princes in *Europe* . . . such are those in Germany and other *Northern* Parts of *Europe*.'
	67	1	Bayonets, Sieges	Bayonets, Battles, Sieges	347	25	See Appendix I.
	69	17 ff.	what sort . . .	by Law, and the Dispensers thereof, according to the present Practice in my own Country, because he thought Nature and Reason were sufficient Guides for a reasonable Animal, as we pretended to be, in shewing us what we ought to do, and what to avoid. I assured his Honour, that Law was a Science	349	11 ff.	See Appendix I. 'what sort . . . Expectation', p. 69, l. 17, to p. 76, l. 7, is struck out, and on two blank leaves, bound in between p. 68 and p. 69, F 2 and F 3 of Part IV, the substituted passage is written.

PART IV CHAP. V	*Motte, First Edition*			*Ford's Book*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
	Page	*Line*			*Page*	*Line*	
	69	17 ff. (*cont.*)		wherein I had not much conversed, further than by employing Advocates in vain, upon some Injustices that had been done me, however I would give him all the Satisfaction I was able. I said, there was a Society of Men among us, bred up from their Youth in the Art of proving by Words multiplyed for the Purpose that White is Black, and Black is White, according as they are paid. To this Society all the rest of the People are Slaves. For Example, if my Neighbour hath a mind to my Cow, he hires a Lawyer to	349	11 ff. (*cont.*)	

	Motte, First Edition			Ford's Book	This Edition		Notes
PART IV CHAP. V	*Page* 69	*Line* 17 ff. (*cont.*)		prove, that he ought to have my Cow from me. I must then hire another to defend my Right, it being against all Rules of Law that any man should be allowed to speak for himself. Now in this Case, I who am the right Owner lye under two great Disadvantages. First, my Lawyer being practiced almost from his Cradle in defending Falshood, is quite out of his Element when he would be an Advocate for Justice, which as an Office unnatural, he always attempts with ill Will. The second Disadvantage is,	*Page* 349	*Line* 11 ff. (*cont.*)	

	Motte, First Edition			Ford's Book	This Edition		Notes
	Page	*Line*			*Page*	*Line*	
PART IV CHAP. V	69	17 ff. (*cont.*)		that my Lawyer must proceed with great Caution, or else he will be reprimanded by the Judges, and abhorred by his Brethren, as one that would lessen the Practice of the Law. And therefore I have but two Methods to preserve my Cow. The first is to gain over my Adversary's Lawyer with a double Fee, who will then betray his Client by insinuating that he hath Justice on his Side. The second way is for my Lawyer to make my Cause appear as unjust as he can, by allowing the Cow to belong to my	349	11 ff. (*cont.*)	

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's Book*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART IV CHAP. V	*Page* 69	*Line* 17 ff. (*cont.*)		Adversary; and this, if it be skillfully done, will certainly bespeak the Favour of the Bench. Now, your Honour is to know that these Judges are Persons appointed to decide all Controversys of Property, as well as for the Tryal of Criminals, and picked out from the most dextrous Lawyers who are grown old or lazy, and having been byassed all their lives against Truth and Equity are under such a fatal Necessity of favouring Fraud, Perjury, and Oppression, that I have known several of them refuse a large Bribe from	*Page* 349	*Line* 11 ff. (*cont.*)	

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's Book*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
	Page	*Line*			*Page*	*Line*	
PART IV CHAP. V	69	17 ff. (*cont.*)		the Side where Justice lay, rather than injure the Faculty by doing any thing unbecoming their Nature or their Office. It is a Maxim among these Lawyers that whatever hath been done before, may legally be done again: and therefore they take special Care to record all the Decisions formerly made against common Justice and the general Reason of Mankind. These under the Name of Precedents they produce as Authoritys to justify the most iniquitous Opinions; and the Judges never fail of decreeing accordingly.	349	11 ff. (*cont.*)	

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's Book*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART IV CHAP. V	*Page*	*Line*			*Page*	*Line*	
	77	9	gone near to confound	wholly confounded	353	16	
	77	12	may	will	353	18	
	77	20 ff.	For if those . . .	The Judge first sends to sound the Disposition of those in Power, after which he can easily hang or save the Criminal, strictly preserving all due Forms of Law. Here my Master interposing, said it was a Pity, that Creatures endowed with such prodigious Abilities of Mind as these Lawyers by the Description I gave of them must certainly be, were not rather encouraged to be Instructors of others in Wisdom and Knowledge.	353	24 ff.	'For if those' to the end of the chapter, on p. 79, struck out, and on a blank leaf, bound in between p. 68 and p. 69, F2 and F3, of Part IV, the substituted passage is written.

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's Book*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART IV CHAP. V	*Page* 77	*Line* 20 ff. (*cont.*)		In answer to which I assured his Honour, that in all Points out of their own Trade they were the most ignorant and stupid Generation among us, the most despicable in common Conversation, avowed Enemys to all Knowledge and Learning, and equally disposed to pervert the general Reason of Mankind in every other Subject of Discourse, as in that of their Profession.	*Page* 353	*Line* 24 ff. (*cont.*)	
CHAP. VI	80	1–5	*A Continuation of the State of* England, *so well governed by a Queen as to need no first*	*A Continuation of the State of* England. *The Character of* a first Minister.	355	1–3	

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's Book*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART IV CHAP. VI	*Page*	*Line*			*Page*	*Line*	
	80	1–5 (*cont.*)	*Minister. The Character of such an one in some* European *Courts.*		355	1–3 (*cont.*)	
	87	18	Bones, Beasts	Bones, Birds, Beasts	359	8	
	90	12 ff.	I told him . . . wholly exempt from Joy	I told him that a first or *chief Minister of State*, who was the Person I intended to describe, was a Creature wholly exempt from Joy	360	21 ff.	On a blank leaf, bound between p. 68 and p. 69, F 2 and F 3, of Part IV, Ford writes, 'blot out a Page & a half & read thus . . .' The page and a half intended is p. 90, l. 12, to p. 91, l. 25. See Appendix I.
	92	2	makes	made	361	18	
	93	14	by an *Act of Indemnity*	by an Expedient called an *Act of Indemnity*	362	11/12	See Appendix I.
	97	1 ff.	her Neighbours, or . . .	her Neighbours or Domesticks, in order to improve	364	6 ff.	See Appendix I. P. 97, l. 1, 'Ac-

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's Book*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART IV CHAP. VI	*Page* 97	*Line* 1 ff. (*cont.*)		and continue the Breed. That a weak diseased Body, a meager Countenance, and sallow Complexion are the true Marks of Noble Blood; And a healthy robust Appearance is so disgraceful in a Man of Quality, that the World concludes his real Father to have been a *Groom*, or a *Coachman*. The Imperfections of his Mind run parallel with those of his Body being a Composition of Spleen, Dulness, Ignorance, Caprice, Sensuality, and Pride. Without the consent of this *illustrious Body* no Law can be made, repealed or	*Page* 364	*Line* 6 ff. (*cont.*)	quaintance' to the end of the chapter struck out, and on a blank leaf, bound between p. 96 and p. 97, G8 and H1, of Part IV, the substituted passage is written.

	Motte, First Edition			*Ford's Book*	*This Edition*		*Notes*
PART IV	*Page*	*Line*			*Page*	*Line*	
CHAP. VI	97	1 ff. (*cont.*)		altered, and these have the Decision of all our Possessions without Appeal.	364	6 ff. (*cont.*)	
CHAP. VII	107	23	seldom	never	370	16/17	
	109	6	chatter	chatter, and reel,	371	7	
	114	5	discover	plainly discover	373	29	
CHAP. VIII	127	1	again, or	again. Or	380	13	
	130	8	Rivet	River	382	6	
	131	18/19	Family	Family in the District	382	29	
CHAP. IX	132	13	that	which	383	9	
CHAP. X	146	16	I made	I likewise made	391	23	See Appendix I.
	147	19	splenetick	spleneticks,	392	16	See Appendix I.
	149	24	on	or	393	23	
	152	7/8	only a little civilized	only a little more civilized	394	31	
	161	19	mine	my	400	3	
CHAP. XII	189	8/9	meddle not with	meddle not the least with	414	30	
	190	1	Tribes	Tribe	415	11	
	197	7	ask'd	ask	419	9	

NOTES

PART I

Accounts of pygmy kingdoms and races are almost as old as the beginnings of literature. The conception is one which makes a natural and inevitable appeal to the imagination. The Voyage to Lilliput has always been the most popular part of *Gulliver's Travels*. Homer's reference to war between the pygmies and cranes (*Iliad* iii. 2–6) is well known. Herodotus, an author much read by Swift, mentions a pygmy race in Lybia (*Euterpe*, ch. xxxii). In *A Tale of a Tub* (sec. vii) Swift refers to the account of Indian pygmies given by Ctesias (*Photius*, ed. Bekker, 1824, p. 46). In the *Imagines* of Philostratus there is narrated an attack on Hercules by pygmies, which may have suggested to Swift the capture of Gulliver by the Lilliputians. But in no classical author, nor in any revivals of the pygmy myth by authors nearer to Swift's own time (for whom see Th. Borkowsky, *Quellen zu Dean Swift's Gulliver's Travels*, *Anglia*, vol. xv, pp. 345–89, and W. A. Eddy's *Critical Study of Gulliver's Travels*), is there anything which can be supposed to have furnished him with more than an occasional hint, nor any consecutive narrative, other qualities apart, as complete and consistent as that of the Voyage to Lilliput.

The satire of this Part is directed against the civil and ecclesiastical polity, and against persons; and shows traces of having been evolved during a gradual revision of the first draft. Lilliput becomes England; the Emperor represents George I in policy, but not in appearance; Gulliver, at first representative of mankind, is transformed into Bolingbroke.

It has been suggested that Lilliput and Blefuscu stand for Ireland and Scotland respectively (Sophie Shilleto Smith, *Dean Swift*, p. 226), on the ground that the date of the supposed discovery of Lilliput, 1699, was the year in which Swift received the living of Laracor. But the account of the political relationship of the two pygmy empires is quite inconsistent with this theory, as are also the allusions to the custom of young Lilliputians and Blefuscu-

dians travelling in each other's countries for the sake of education. The contrast intended by Swift was that between England and France.

Professor Henry Morley in the Introduction (pp. 17, 18) to the Carisbrooke Library edition of *Gulliver's Travels*, offers an ingenious derivation of the name 'Lilliput'. 'The small representative of lordly man has a name of contempt familiar in Swift's time; he was a "put". But he was of the little—lilli—people, as Swift's "little language" phrased it, of the land of Lilli-put. "Put" may have been from the Latin "putus", a little boy, allied to *puer*. But it was used in Romance languages—the *put* and *pute* of old French, the Spanish and Portuguese *puto* and *puta*, the Italian *putta*—in the sense of boy or girl stained by the vices of men. This made it once current in England as a word of scorn; and it has been suggested that the root was in the Latin *putidus*, stinking, disgusting. This use of the word was probably repeated in Laputa.'

CHAPTER I

Page 15, line 25. *30 Degrees 2 Minutes South.* If, as the engraver of the map understood, Australia was meant by '*Van Diemen's* Land', the latitude of Lilliput, as Mr. Ravenscroft Dennis points out, 'would be about 15° south, instead of 30° 2′'.

Page 16, line 31. *I attempted to rise.* Sir Walter Scott (*Works of Jonathan Swift*, xi. 7) first drew attention to the account of the attack on Hercules by pygmies related in the *Imagines* (lib. ii) of Philostratus. 'One phalanx assaulted his left hand; but against his right hand, that being the stronger, two phalanxes were appointed. The archers and slingers besieged his feet, admiring the hughness of his thighs; but against his head, as the arsenal, they raised batteries, the King himself taking his post there. They set fire to his hair, put reaping hooks in his eyes; and, that he might not breathe, clapped doors to his mouth and nostrils; but all the execution that they could do was only to awake him, which, when done, deriding their folly, he gathered them all up, into his lion's skin and carried them to Euristhenes.'

Page 20, line 18. *did not hold half a Pint.* Faulkner, 1735, 'hardly held half'. On the relationship of English and Lilliputian cubic measure see note to page 49, line 24.

Page 23, line 30. *a Frame . . . about seven Foot long.* In the Voyages to Lilliput and Brobdingnag Swift observes his scale closely, but here he seems to under-estimate the size of platform necessary

to draw a man-of-war, nine feet long, to the sea, conscious, possibly, of the difficulty of the whole operation. It may be added that, on the scale of an inch to a foot, the largest Lilliputian men-of-war were proportionately much smaller than those built by Sir Phineas Pett, and other naval architects, earlier than the date at which Swift was writing.

Page 25, line 27. *six and thirty Padlocks.* It may be no more than a coincidence that Swift used the same number in the Introduction to *A Tale of a Tub.* 'Fourscore and eleven Pamphlets have I writ under three Reigns, and for the Service of six and thirty Factions.'

CHAPTER II

Page 27, line 13. *half a Stang.* Obsolete term for a rood. The latest reference given by the *O. E. D.* is in 1777.

Page 28, line 1. *so uncleanly an Action.* The character of the unseemly passages in *Gulliver's Travels* derives something from the humour of Rabelais, with whose writings Swift was well acquainted.

Page 29, line 12. *taller by almost the breadth of my Nail. . . .* Macaulay (*Life and Writings of Addison*) suggests that Swift here took a hint, for one of his 'happiest touches', from Addison's Latin poem on the battle of the pygmies and cranes:

> Iamque acies inter medias sese arduus infert
> Pygmeadum ductor, qui, majestate verendus,
> Incessuque gravis, reliquos supereminet omnes
> Mole gigantea, mediamque exsurgit in ulnam.

It may be; but Swift's touch is happier than Addison's.

In personal appearance the Emperor of Lilliput bears no resemblance to the unattractive George I, but the characteristics attributed to him, including a strong bent for economy, are not dissimilar. The inconsistency is either due to caution on Swift's part, or, more probably, to the transformation of the earlier sketch into a political satire.

line 20. *reigned about seven.* If Swift, as is probable, set himself to the consecutive writing of the *Travels* in 1720, or 1721, seven years would represent the approximate length of George I's reign at that time. Compare remarks in the Introduction, p. xvii, on the clue Swift is supposed to have given in Part IV, Chap. XI.

Page 31, line 11. *six Hundred Beds. . . .* The scale of Lilliput compared with the normal world is as 1 to 12. The superficial area of the mattress required by Gulliver would therefore be

12×12, or 144, approximately the ' hundred and fifty of their Beds sown together ' of the narrative. But, as the six hundred only served to make the mattress ' four double ' instead of twelve double, Gulliver's complaint of its inadequacy to protect him from the hardness of the stone floor is intelligible.

Page 33, line 3. *three hundred Taylors. . . .* Rabelais gives a whole chapter (Bk. I, ch. viii) to the apparelling of Gargantua. ' To make him every shirt of his, were taken up nine hundred ells of Chatelro linnen, and two hundred for the guissets.' And there can be little doubt that Swift's account of the scale of Gulliver's eating and drinking in Lilliput is modelled upon the exploits of Gargantua.

Page 34, line 19. *This Inventory.* Probably intended to ridicule the proceedings of the committee appointed by Walpole to investigate Jacobite intrigues.

CHAPTER III

Page 41, line 11. *Flimnap.* Under the character of Flimnap Walpole is satirized, for whom, as the supplanter of Bolingbroke and the Tory Ministry, Swift conceived the bitterest dislike. His aptitude for cutting ' a Caper on the strait Rope ' refers to his political dexterity.

line 17. *My Friend Reldresal.* Possibly Stanhope, whose attitude towards the Tories was kindlier than that of Walpole, whom he succeeded in 1717, may be intended. Sir Charles Firth (*Political Significance of Gulliver's Travels*, pp. 9, 10) suggests Lord Carteret, who was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1724. Although friendly towards Swift, he was under the necessity of offering a reward of £300 for the discovery of the author of the *Drapier's Letters*; and it is possible that Reldresal's suggestion for punishing Gulliver (Chap. VII) is a reference to this incident.

line 31. *one of the King's Cushions.* Through the interest of the Duchess of Kendal, a mistress of George I, Walpole returned to office in 1721. She was the cushion that ' weakened the Force of his Fall '.

Page 42, line 5. *One is Purple, the other Yellow, and the third White.* See Appendix II. Ford corrected these to ' Blue ', ' Red ', ' Green ', the colours of the Orders of the Garter, Bath, and Thistle respectively. The colours may have been changed by Motte to avoid any danger of giving offence. The Order of the Thistle was revived by Queen Anne in 1703, that of the Bath by George I in 1725. The Order of the Garter was bestowed on

Walpole in May 1726. This passage relating to the silken threads may therefore be one of the last additions to *Gulliver's Travels*. See Swift's *Verses on the Revival of the Order of the Bath* (*Poems*, ed. W. E. Browning, ii. 203).

Page 43, line 10. *nine of these Sticks*. Why nine? Four or eight would be intelligible in the formation of a quadrangular figure.

Page 46, line 15. *Skyresh Bolgolam*. W. C. Taylor (*Gulliver's Travels*, 1840, p. 52 n.) identifies Bolgolam with the Duke of Argyll, who led the Scottish peers in their demand for the apprehension of the author of *The Publick Spirit of the Whigs*. Sir Charles Firth (*op. cit.*, p. 6) suggests, with greater probability, that Bolgolam stands for the Earl of Nottingham, whose 'morose and sour Complection' earned for him the nickname of Dismal. See Swift's *Toland's Invitation to Dismal* (*Poems*, ii. 156). Referring to Swift in June 1714, Nottingham is reported to have said in Parliament: 'I own I tremble when I think that a certain divine, who is hardly suspected of being a Christian, is in a fair way of being a Bishop.' Sir Charles Firth further suggests that the title '*Galbet*, or Admiral of the Realm', may be a skit on Nottingham's unjustified pretence to familiarity with nautical affairs.

Page 47, line 20. *arrived to*. A familiar form at the time, and here passed by Ford, as also in Part II, Chap. III, 'a Piece of Clockwork, (which is in that Country arrived to a very great Perfection)'. But in Part III, Chap. XI, 'arrived safe to' is corrected to 'safe at' in Ford's list, and 'safely at' in the 'Book'.

Page 49, line 24. *1724*. First corrected to 1728 in Motte's third edition. The error was not noticed by Ford. See Introduction, p. lviii.

CHAPTER IV

Page 53, line 15. *Her Imperial Majesty*. Taylor (*op. cit.*, p. 61 n.) remarks: 'The character of the Empress is manifestly taken from that of Queen Anne—good-natured but easily duped.'

Page 54, line 21. *Tramecksan, and Slamecksan*. High Church and Low Church, or Whig and Tory. The low heels worn by the Emperor are an allusion to his reliance on the Whig party.

Page 55, line 4. *some Tendency towards the High-Heels*. The Prince of Wales (afterwards George II), although opposed to his father and the Ministry, and a centre of hope for the Tories, after his accession, upon the advice of the Queen, retained Walpole in office.

Page 55, line 26. *the larger End . . . the smaller End.* A reference to the controversy between the Roman and Anglican Churches. The King who cut his finger is Henry VIII.

Page 56, line 2. *one Emperor lost his Life, and another his Crown.* Charles I and James II.

line 23. *in the power of the Chief Magistrate.* Reldresal's opinion sits very nearly with Swift's conception of the Church as a civil institution.

line 30. *we have lost. . . .* This story of great and useless war losses is a reflection of the Tory opposition to the long continuance of the war with France (supported by the Whigs and Marlborough), which found its ablest literary expression in Swift's *Conduct of the Allies.*

CHAPTER V

Page 59, line 28. *My greatest Apprehension was for mine Eyes.* Rabelais's description of 'How Gargantua demolished the Castle at the Forde of Vede' (Bk. I, ch. xxxvi) bears some resemblance to the narrative of Gulliver's attack on the people of Blefuscu: 'Those who were within the Castle . . . shot at him above nine thousand and five and twenty falcon shot and harcabusades, aiming all at his head, and so thick did they shoot at him, that he cried out, Ponocrates my friend, these flies here are like to put out mine eyes.'

Page 60, line 15. *with great ease drew fifty of the Enemy's largest Men of War after me.* Professor De Morgan (*Notes and Queries*, 2nd Ser. vi. 124) has pointed out that this was a feat probably beyond Gulliver's powers. The capture of the Blefuscudian fleet contains, perhaps, a hidden reference to English aims against France in the Treaty of Utrecht.

Page 61, line 22. *reducing the whole Empire of Blefuscu into a Province.* The successes of Marlborough led many to suppose the complete subjugation of France a possibility.

Page 63, line 17. *mark of Disaffection.* In the later revision of the Voyage to Lilliput Gulliver begins to assume the character of Bolingbroke, who was accused of treasonable intrigue with King James and the French Court.

Page 65, line 27. *the Fire was wholly extinguished.* The suggestion for this type of incident is probably chargeable to Rabelais. Cf. Bk. I, ch. xvii ; Bk. II, ch. xxviii.

Page 66, line 10. *the greatest Abhorrence.* The dislike Queen Anne conceived for *A Tale of a Tub* prejudiced the author's chances of preferment.

CHAPTER VI

This chapter is clearly an interpolation. Gulliver is no longer the curious traveller in a foreign country. He and the Lilliputians are used to expound theories and ideas held by the author. Desfontaines, Swift's French translator, with his turn for improving the hour by moral commentary, further extended the account of the Lilliputian educational system.

Page 68, line 9. *Cascagians.* All trace of this people seems to have been lost.

line 9. *aslant from one Corner of the Paper to the other.* Borkowsky (*op. cit.*, p. 352) notes the method of writing taught to the Sevarambes by Sevarias : ' Il leur apprit à écrire par colonne, commençant par le haut de la page et tirant en bas de la gauche à la droite en bas à la manière de plusieurs peuples de l'orient.' It is not improbable that Swift was acquainted with the *Histoire des Sévarambes* by Denis Vairasse d'Alais, a fictitious voyage, the first part of which appeared in 1677, the second in 1679, and some stray hints may have been retained by his memory. An English translation of the *Sévarambes* appeared in 1727 as part of a spurious third volume of *Gulliver's Travels.*

line 26. *Informers.* Swift reserved a venomous hatred for the tribe, partly, doubtless, in consequence of the conduct of Atterbury's trial. See also Part III, Chap. VI.

Page 70, line 25. *the Management of Publick Affairs a Mystery.* Compare the opinion of the King of Brobdingnag (Part II, Chap. VII.): 'He confined the Knowledge of Governing within very *narrow Bounds*, to common Sense and Reason, &c.'

Page 71, line 12. *the Disbelief of a Divine Providence.* In More's *Utopia* (Everyman ed., pp. 102, 103) we are told that King Utopus forbade ' so vile and baase an opinion of the dignitie of mans nature, as to think that the soules do dye and perishe with the bodye; or that the world runneth at al aventures governed by no divine providence '. Any man who is ' thus minded is deprived of all offices and rejecte from all common administrations of the weale publique '.

Page 72, line 13. *they will never allow, that a Child is under any Obligation to his Father.* Cyrano de Bergerac's *Histoire de la lune* contains a close parallel to the thought of this passage (noted by Hönncher, *Quellen zu Dean Jonathan Swift's Gulliver's Travels*, *Anglia*, vol. x). ' Vostre père consulta-t-il vostre volonté, lorsqu'il embrassa vostre mère? Vous demanda-t-il si vous trouveriés bon

de veoir ce siècle-lá, ou d'en attendre un autre?' (*Les Œuvres libertines de Cyrano de Bergerac*, ed. Frédéric Lachèvre, 1921, i. 64).

Page 74, line 4. *put out Apprentices at Eleven years old.* Faulkner reads 'seven' for 'eleven'; and in the description of 'Nurseries of Females of the meaner sort' he reads 'seven' and 'eleven' for 'nine' and 'thirteen' of the Motte editions. See Introduction, pp. xlvii, xlviii, for a discussion of these changes. Mr. Ravenscroft Dennis follows Motte in the first instance, and Faulkner in the other two. In submission to Hawkesworth's criticism Faulkner returned to 'eleven' in his edition of 1759.

line 5. *continue in their Nurseries till Fifteen.* Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, reads 'Exercises' for 'Nurseries'—a change with much to commend it, and possibly attributable to Swift.

Page 75, line 28. *unknown in this Kingdom.* Faulkner here reads 'Empire', which is more exact, as the rulers of Lilliput and Blefuscu were both Emperors. In other passages, however, he follows the Motte readings, 'King' and 'Kingdom'.

line 30. *my Domestick.* i.e. household arrangements. Writing to Pope from Dublin (2 May 1730, *Corresp.* iv. 151), Swift says, 'And so much for my scurvy domestic'. See also *Corresp.* iv. 194, and Delany's *Observations* (1754), p. 28.

Page 78, line 12. *Exchequer Bills would not circulate under nine per Cent. below Par.* Thus in all editions; but, as Dr. Hubbard notes (*op. cit.*, p. 97), it should be 'above nine *per Cent.* . . .'

line 19. *the Reputation of an excellent Lady.* Swift may only have been diverting himself with the ludicrous in his own inimitably realistic manner, although several originals for this incident have been suggested. Sir Charles Firth (*op. cit.*, p. 9) thinks there may be a reference intended to Walpole's first wife, or to Bolingbroke's attempt to bribe the Duchess of Kendal in his favour. Other suggestions of possible reference are: Swift's relationship to Mrs. Masham, or Bolingbroke's intimacy with Madame Tencin.

CHAPTER VII

Page 82, line 21. *Articles of Impeachment.* A satire on the proceedings against Oxford and Bolingbroke.

Page 85, line 2. *Shirts.* Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, adds 'and Sheets'.

line 23. *only give order to put out both your Eyes.* According to Taylor (*op. cit.*, p. 98 n.): 'The pretended merciful council of Reldresal, who proposed a commutation of punishment, which,

however, was worse than death, appears to be a satire on those Whigs who proposed that the Earl of Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke, instead of being impeached for high treason, and thus brought in peril of life, should only be accused of high misdemeanour, which would justify their being deprived of title and estate, and sentenced to civil death.' But see note on Reldresal, Chap. III.

Page 89, line 4. *Encomiums on his Majesty's Mercy.* After the rebellion of 1715, and the executions following upon it, the Government issued a proclamation in praise of the royal mercy.

Page 90, line 8. *hurry'd on by the Precipitancy of Youth.* Bolingbroke is clearly represented by Gulliver, whose departure for Blefuscu is reminiscent of Bolingbroke's flight to France in 1715. Like Gulliver, he feared that to remain was but to await sentence of death.

CHAPTER VIII

Page 94, line 12. *a Person of Quality was dispatched.* A reference to the remonstrances frequently addressed by the English Government to the French Court, in consequence of the protection afforded to Jacobite refugees and plotters.

Page 95, line 21. *very glad of my Resolution.* The presence of Bolingbroke and others caused anxiety at Versailles. Bolingbroke eventually quarrelled with the Pretender.

Page 99, line 14. *the Advantage of the Woollen Manufacture.* An allusion to the many Acts of Parliament passed in aid of woollen manufactures. The woollen trade of Ireland was destroyed by legislation directed against Irish competition with England.

line 20. *Redriff.* Rotherhithe was commonly so named in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In Part IV, Chap. XI, Gulliver speaks of ' my House at *Rotherhith* '. See *Notes and Queries*, vol. 148, p. 266.

PART II

Swift's picture of the inhabitants of Brobdingnag owes little to classical or popular traditions of giant races. The Titans and the Cyclopes of classical legend were fierce and brutal, the giants of Germanic and Scandinavian mythology easy-tempered and humorous beings. The Brobdingnagians are a sober and common-sense people, content to live by the safe rule of a practical reasonableness—peace-loving, industrious, and wanting, apparently, in the gift of imagination or the spirit of adventure.

Giants, or human beings of more than the common size, have usually been characterized by an indulgent temperament and a circumscribed mentality, and Swift invests the people of Brobdingnag with similar attributes. They are worthy and respectable, if lacking in attractiveness or charm.

It is of interest to note that, among the literary sources from which Swift drew hints, when writing *Gulliver's Travels*, three, Lucian's *Vera Historia*, Francis Godwin's *Voyage of Domingo Gonzales to the Moon* (1638), and Cyrano's *Histoire comique de la lune* (1657), relate the presence of a giant race in the moon. Lucian's giant monsters contributed nothing to Swift's picture, and Godwin's narrative little, beyond, possibly, the danger to which his traveller was exposed from attacks by dwarfs dwelling on the moon; but the parallelisms between Cyrano's voyage and Gulliver's experiences in Brobdingnag are too numerous and close to be fortuitous. They are fully set out by W. A. Eddy (*op. cit.*, pp. 125–9), and may here be summarized. The discussion of the King's scholars on the nature and origin of Gulliver has a close analogy in Cyrano's romance. Gulliver is kept in a box, Cyrano in a cage; both are shown for money; both perform tricks in public; both are fatigued by their performances; both have large nuts thrown at them; each becomes a pet of the Queen; both notice that the birds of the country have no fear of them; both are carried away by an enormous bird. These incidents may have been borrowed, but in all that truly matters, in the consecutive interest of the narrative, in aptness of wit and effectiveness of satire, Swift is far the superior of Cyrano de Bergerac.

The narrative of the Voyage to Lilliput, as has been noted, shows evident traces of having been remodelled. The intention of the satire is distributed over a number of years, the ligatures are noticeable, and the Voyage as a whole is obviously not the result of single-minded conception and continuous writing. The Voyage to Brobdingnag, on the contrary, bears every appearance of having been planned and written from beginning to end at one and the same time. It is true that the point of view changes in the course of the narrative, but the contrast in satirical effect is deliberate; this is no example of a welding process. In the earlier part of the Voyage to Brobdingnag the method is similar to that of Lilliput—Gulliver is the *spectator ab extra*, who sees revealed in the Brobdingnagians the grossness of our humanity, just as in the activities of the Lilliputians he recognized the

pettiness of man. Later Gulliver becomes a representative of normal humanity, and an object of the King's pitying or contemptuous criticism. The direct effectiveness of the satire is clearly enhanced by the contrasted method of the later chapters, which emerges as a natural development, and without break, from the earlier part of the narrative.

There is, further, a broad and general contrast between the immediate objects of satire in the first and second Voyages. In Lilliput persons and politics are attacked, in Brobdingnag institutions as they affect mankind.

Professor Morley (*op. cit.*, Introd., p. 18) suggests that the name of Brobdingnag is formed by the 'Anagrammatick Method'. He remarks: 'At any rate Brobdingnag contains the letters of the words "Grand, big, noble", with the final *le* dropped out.' But Swift hardly regarded the Brobdingnagians in this light; and it may be doubted whether, in devising the name, he intended to expose himself to the penetration of 'a Man of Skill in this Art'.

CHAPTER I

Page 107, line 8. *ten Months.* Motte's fourth octavo (1727) reads 'two', a correction apparently necessary, for towards the end of Part I Gulliver says that he arrived in the Downs on 13 April 1702, and here tells us that he left England again on 20 June. This is one of the 'accidental imperfections . . . suffered to remain' for which Hawkesworth (*Swift's Works*, 1755, vol. i, Preface, p. 5) took Faulkner to task, without, however, mentioning that the Dublin printer was following the first edition.

Page 108, line 10. *19th of April . . . twenty Days . . . 2d of May.* A curious oversight.

line 23. *Finding it was like to overblow. . . .* This description of a storm was intended by Swift as a satire on nautical language; nevertheless he copied it, almost word for word, from Samuel Sturmy's *Mariner's Magazine* (1st ed., 1669). This was first pointed out by Canon E. H. Knowles in *Notes and Queries*, 4th Ser. i. 223. Chap. iii of Bk. I gives instructions for the 'working of a Ship in all Weathers. On pp. 15, 16 (3rd ed., 1684) the relevant part of these instructions runs:

'*It bloweth a Storm*

'It is like to overblow; Take in your Sprit-sail, stand by to hand the Fore-sail.

. . . . . .

'*A very hollow grown Sea.*

'We make foul weather, look the Guns be all fast; come hand the Mizen. The Ship lies very broad off; it is better spooning before the Sea, then trying or hulling; go reef the Fore-sail and set him; hawl aft the Fore-sheet: The Helmne is hard a weather, mind at Helmne what is said to you carefully. The Ship wears bravely steady, she is before it; belay the fore doon hall, it is done. The Sail is split; go hand down the Yard, and get the Sail into the Ship, and unbind all things clear of it. . . . *A very fierce Storm.* The Sea breaks strange and dangerous; stand by to hawl off upon the Lannierd of the Whipstaff, and help the man at the Helmne, and mind what is said to you. Shall we get down our Top-masts? No, let all stand. She scuds before the Sea very well; the Top-mast being aloft the Ship is the wholsomest, and maketh better way through the Sea, seeing we have Sea-room. Thus you see the Ship handled in fair Weather and foul, by and large. Now let us see how we can turn to Windward.

'*The Storm is over, let us turn to Windward.*

'The Storm is over, set Foresail and Main-sail; bring our Ship to; set the Mizen, the Main-top sail, and Fore-top-sail. Our Course is *E.S.E.* the wind is at South. Get the Starboard-tacks aboard, cast off our Weather-braces and Lifts, set in the Lee-braces, and hawl forward by the Weather-bowlings, and hawl them taught and belay them, and hawl over the Mizen-tack to Windward; keep her full, and by as near as she will lye.'

Page 112, line 18. *a second Voyage.* Swift forgot that Gulliver had already made several voyages before that to Lilliput.

line 30. *as human Creatures are observed to be more savage and cruel in Proportion to their Bulk.* This statement is rather the reverse of the truth. The giants of the *Voyage of Gonzales* possess increasing 'endowments of mind' in proportion to their stature.

Page 113, line 6. *as diminutive with respect to them.* . . . A conception which appealed to Swift's imagination. Cf. *On Poetry: A Rhapsody*:

> So, Nat'ralists observe a Flea
> Hath smaller Fleas that on him prey,
> And these have smaller Fleas to bite 'em,
> And so proceed *ad infinitum.*

Poems, i. 274, where the poem is given in a revised form.

Page 116, line 31. *three Gallons.* Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, 'two'. The Lilliputian scale (Part I, Chap. III) is as ours

divided by twelve, and the Brobdingnagian ours multiplied by twelve. By the same rule the relationship of cubic and fluid measures is as 1 to 1,728. Three gallons in Brobdingnag would therefore be approximately equivalent to 1/18 of a gill with us. Both Motte's and Faulkner's measures seem to be at fault.

CHAPTER II

Page 124, line 7. *Baby . . . Baby's Cradle.* i.e. doll. Cf. page 139, line 10, 'the Furniture of a Baby-house'; also *The Tatler*, ed. Aitken, ii. 313 n.

Page 131, line 13. *not much larger than a Sanson's Atlas.* Nicolas Sanson (1600–67), the father of French cartography, published a collection of maps, without title, at least as early as 1654. It is improbable, however, that Swift could have had any acquaintance with the original folio atlases published by Sanson, or his immediate successors, between that year and 1667. After Sanson's death his two younger sons, Guillaume and Adrien, associated themselves with Alexis Hubert Jaillot in engraving a series of maps founded on the original materials accumulated by Jaillot. The new atlas began to appear in 1689, under the title of *Atlas Nouveau*, and, with additions, was republished from time to time in a number of editions extending into the eighteenth century. Although hardly, in the ordinary sense, a Sanson atlas, this was probably the work of which Swift was thinking. It was in two volumes, and the largest atlas of the period. The external measurements, including the cover, are, approximately, $20\frac{5}{8}$ in. high by $20\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide. For a Brobdingnagian Glumdalclitch's 'little Book' would therefore be a tiny volume rather more than two inches high.

CHAPTER III

Page 132, line 17. *the Queen.* The pleasing picture Swift draws of the Queen of Brobdingnag may have been intended to gratify the Princess of Wales, before her marriage Caroline of Anspach, a woman of parts and strong force of character.

Page 134, line 29. *the King.* The character of the King of Brobdingnag bears no resemblance to that of the Prince of Wales; but, as the Tories hoped for favours from the Prince, the flattering portrait may have been deliberate. Sir Walter Scott suggests that the King was drawn from William III. The political element of Part II is, however, slight; and Swift may, very possibly, have conceived the characters of the King and Queen without reference to any originals.

Page 142, line 6. *seldom failed of a small Word.* Faulkner, 'smart Word'; a reading in which he is followed by Hawkesworth.

CHAPTER IV

Page 146, line 12. *six thousand Miles* . . . . See Introduction, note on 'The Maps'.

Page 148, line 2. *and about six hundred thousand Inhabitants.* These words are omitted by Faulkner.

Page 151, line 2. *no great matter for Admiration.* Three thousand feet in Brobdingnag would only be the equivalent of 250 feet with us, less than half the height of the spires of Ulm and Cologne (built since Swift's day), and far less than that of Salisbury, which rises 404 feet.

CHAPTER V

Page 154, line 13. *near eighteen hundred times as large as* . . . . Swift observes his scale of 1 to 1,728. Hailstones weighing several ounces have frequently been recorded, and even small hail in Brobdingnag would, as Gulliver observes, approximate to the size of a tennis-ball.

Page 155, line 31. *the smaller Birds did not appear to be at all afraid of me.* Cyrano observes the birds on one of the islands of the sun equally unafraid of him: 'Ce qui me surprit davantage fut que ces oiseaux, au lieu de s'effaroucher à ma rencontre, voltigeoient alentour de moy' (*Les Œuvres libertines de Cyrano de Bergerac*, ed. Frédéric Lachèvre, 1921, i. 149).

Page 156, line 10. *they would turn back.* Faulkner and Hawkesworth, 'hop'. The word 'turn' occurs earlier in the same sentence.

Page 158, line 30. *half an English Mile distant.* Faulkner, 'an English Mile'—a change which has the appearance of being authoritative and considered. The shorter distance, equivalent to about seventy yards in Brobdingnag, may have been thought a near station to the centre of a public execution.

Page 161, line 32. *that Country Cloth.* Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, 'Silk'. See Introduction, p. xlviii.

Page 163, line 4. *three hundred Yards from the Ground.* Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, 'five hundred Yards', which would be equivalent to 125 feet. The lesser height, equivalent to 75 feet, seems more likely.

NOTES

CHAPTER VI

Page 167, line 28. *The King, who delighted in Musick.* While *Gulliver's Travels* was being written Handel, under royal patronage, was composing a rapid succession of operas. The passion of the Laputians for music also satirizes the enthusiasm for opera fashionable at the time.

Page 170, line 17. *Counsellors born to the King and Kingdom.* The word ' born ', by an intelligent textual emendation, was altered to ' both ' in Bathurst's edition of 1742. Hawkesworth (*Swift's Works*, 1755, vol. i, Preface, p. 5) ridicules Faulkner for printing ' born ', and thus ' describing a part of their education antecedent to their birth '. Swift's phrase is careless and inaccurate, but intelligible; and there can be hardly a doubt that he wrote ' born ', for it was passed by Ford, and retained in Faulkner's 1735 edition. In his final editions of 1759 and 1772, in deference to Hawkesworth's criticism, Faulkner printed ' both '.

Page 172, line 1. *Memorandums of all Questions.* This sentence was subjected to two unfortunate alterations. Ford corrected ' all ' to ' several ', not noticing, apparently, that the word ' several ' already occurred in the same sentence. Faulkner (followed by Hawkesworth and later editions) reads ' what '. But ' what ' occurs in the line above. The original reading seems preferable to either of the alterations.

line 24. *were always promoted.* Faulkner ' were constantly '. ' Always ' appears in the fifth line above. Faulkner's alterations to avoid repetition of the same word are characteristic of Swift, and suggest that some, if not all, owe their origin to him.

Page 174, line 25. *chargeable and extensive Wars.* Mr. Ravenscroft Dennis reads ' expensive '; and adds a note: ' The second edition and Faulkner read " extensive ".' This is misleading. Motte's first and second editions print ' extensive ', the third edition (followed by the 12mo edition) has ' expensive '; but the fourth 8vo (called ' The Second Edition ' on the title-page of the volume), which was set from the first edition, retains ' extensive '. Faulkner reads ' extensive ', Hawkesworth, ' expensive '. The original reading has most to recommend it, for ' chargeable and expensive ' is tautological.

line 32. *a mercenary standing Army.* A standing army, and the principle of a national debt, alluded to above in the same paragraph, were two great questions upon which the Tories were

violently opposed to the Whigs. Gulliver returns to the subject of mercenary troops, Part IV, Chap. V.

Page 176, line 29. *any one Virtue.* Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, ' Perfection '. ' Virtue ' occurs later in the same sentence.

CHAPTER VII

Page 178, line 22. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis.* The intention of his *Archæologia* (*c.* 8 B.C.) was to present the Romans in a favourable light to the Greeks.

Page 182, line 6. *whoever could make two Ears of Corn . . . .* The Tory Party was united with the agricultural interest of the country, and it was probably not without reference to the fact that Swift attributed this opinion to the King. The political principles of Brobdingnag are akin to those supported by the Tories.

line 27. *to write a Comment upon any Law is a capital Crime.* In an ' Advertisement ' appended to *A Proposal for Preventing the Further Growth of Popery* Swift, if that tract be by him, includes among books ' of no use to the owner, or to the public ' any ' comments on the laws of the land '.

Page 183, line 26. *Their Stile . . . .* A statement of Swift's ideal in prose-writing.

Page 184, line 31. *several moral Applications.* Motte's fourth 8vo edition reads ' more ' for ' moral '. If this alteration was intentional on the part of the printer, it has less to commend it than the earlier reading, for in the following sentence occurs an allusion to ' Lectures in Morality '.

Page 185, line 25. *A Cavalier mounted on a large Steed . . . an hundred Foot high.* Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, reads ' Ninety Foot '. The alteration appears needless. The English equivalents would be 8 ft. 4 in. and 7 ft. 6 in. respectively. A rider sitting on a horse sixteen hands high would reach a total height of eight feet, or just over. The lower measurement is an under-estimate of the average.

Page 186, line 15. *once or more.* Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, ' more than once '.

CHAPTER VIII

Page 187, line 12. *He was strongly bent to get me a Woman . . . .* Borkowsky (*op. cit.*, p. 371) notes a parallel in Cyrano's romance. On the moon Cyrano meets with Gonzales, the Spaniard of Godwin's *Voyage . . . to the Moon*, and, ' le Roy commanda aux

gardiens des singes de nous ramener, avec ordre exprès de nous faire coucher ensemble, l'Espagnol et moy, pour faire en son Royaume multiplier notre espèce' (*Les Œuvres libertines de Cyrano de Bergerac*, ed. Frédéric Lachèvre, 1921, i. 45).

Page 189, line 29. *some Eagle* . . . . The fable of the roc, or giant bird, which seizes upon and carries away men or animals, is of Arabian origin. By this means of transport Cyrano leaves the moon, and the traveller of *Les avantures de Jacques Sadeur* (1676) reaches Madagascar. The suggestion, doubtless, came to Swift from Cyrano, or from one of the many books of travel he was in the habit of reading. See W. A. Eddy, *op. cit.*, pp. 138, 139.

Page 190, line 5. *like a Sign-post in a windy Day.* Hawkesworth (*Swift's Works*, 1755, vol. i, Preface, p. 6) ridicules Motte's reading and Faulkner for copying it, and alters 'Sign-post' to 'Sign'. In his editions of 1759 and 1772 Faulkner reads 'a Sign on a Post'. The original phrase, if inaccurate, is undoubtedly what Swift wrote. Anybody can pick out examples of inaccurate expression and faulty English in Swift's writing, but, despite it, and within his province, his prose is unmatched.

Page 191, line 23. *where I might, at least, preserve my self some Hours longer than by being shut up.* Faulkner reads 'preserve myself from being shut up'. On this Hawkesworth (*Swift's Works*, 1755, vol. i, Preface, p. 6) remarks sarcastically, 'indeed it is a truth so evident as to admit no dispute, that while a man sits on the top of a box he will effectually preserve himself from the inside of it'. In 1759 Faulkner reverted to the Motte text.

PART III

The Voyage to Laputa appeared from the first, both to Swift's friends and to ordinary readers, the least interesting and original part of the *Travels*, and posterity has endorsed this opinion. It is most probable that, together with Lilliput, the Voyage to Laputa contains some of Swift's first concepts and jottings for his great satire. Sir Charles Firth (*op. cit.*) draws attention to Pope's statement, recorded by Spence (*Anecdotes, Observations and Characters*, ed. S. W. Singer, 1820, p. 10): 'It was from a part of those memoirs [i.e. *Martinus Scriblerus*] that Dr. Swift took his first hints for *Gulliver*. There were pigmies in Schreibler's *Travels*; and the projects of Laputa.' In the *Memoirs*, as published in 1741, though probably finished not later than 1714, we only learn that Martin discovered in his third voyage 'a whole Kingdom of

Philosophers, who govern by *Mathematicks* ; with whose admirable Schemes and Projects he return'd to benefit his own dear Country, but had the misfortune to find them rejected by the envious Ministers of *Queen Anne*, and himself sent treacherously away' (ch. xvi). In this there is no more than the general conception adopted by Swift; the ' projects ' are in no way particularized. But some of these were imitated from Rabelais; and for the patchwork of which the third Voyage consists he gleaned suggestions from many nooks and corners of reading. For the Flying Island he was almost undoubtedly indebted to Lucian's *Vera Historia*, and probably to the same writer's *Dialogues of the Dead* for the ghost scenes in Glubbdubdrib; beyond Rabelais, he seems to have drawn hints for the Academy at Lagado from Tom Brown's *Amusements Serious and Comical* (1700); the idea of a race of immortals is of ancient origin and widespread, and borrowing this, Swift gave to it a tragic pathos which differentiates his version from any that went before. A detailed discussion of sources and literary analogues will be found in Borkowsky (*op. cit.*), W. A. Eddy (*op. cit.*, pp. 157–70); and in several critical monographs noted in the bibliographies appended to the latter work.

If, as seems probable, the Voyage to Laputa contains some portions of narrative written at an early date, the whole presents the appearance of a gradual process of reconstruction and accretion. The story is shapeless and disordered in comparison with the other three Parts; for, whereas in these Swift developed a single conception, he unburdened his mind in Part III of detached and irrelevant prejudices, dislikes, ironies, and musings. The satire is chiefly directed against mathematicians, philosophers, men of science, and vain pedantry, although there is much beside, and but slightly allied matter, introduced. The inconsequences of this Voyage are to some extent also to be accounted for by a change in Swift's attitude. It is clear that, if we regard the *Travels* as a whole, he began to write thinking of England, and finished with Ireland and Irish affairs in his mind. The process of this change has affected the Voyage to Laputa more adversely than the other Parts of Gulliver's story. For if, as seems almost certain, the description of the misery of the inhabitants of Lagado and the unhappy state of agriculture in that country is intended to represent the condition of Ireland, these misfortunes are also shown as a consequence of subjection to ' science falsely so called ' and a passion for bubble schemes, and the satire loses some point through the confusion. Whether, as Sir Charles Firth surmises,

Swift intended Balnibarbi to represent Ireland, and Laputa England, with a full consciousness of the opprobrious meaning of that term in Spanish, may well be doubted; for he championed Ireland without affection and opposed England with no more of that *saeva indignatio* than embittered life for him in all its turnings.

CHAPTER I

Page 210, line 23. *Fort St. George.* The original settlement of Madras.

Page 211, line 4. *to Traffick for two Months.* Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, omits ' for two Months '.

Page 212, line 28. *Latitude of 46. N. and of Longitude 183.* Mr. Ravenscroft Dennis (*op. cit.*, p. 159 n.) remarks: ' Moll, in his maps, usually reckoned longitude up to 360 degrees East of Greenwich. Thus " longitude 183° " would be equivalent to 177° W. according to present reckoning.' If Swift happened to be using a map engraved by Moll this observation is perhaps justified, save that Moll reckoned from the initial meridian of London. Greenwich was not in use till the end of the eighteenth century. Moll also engraved maps in which he used the meridian of Ferro, the most westerly of the Canary Islands. The reckoning of longitude was still in process of adjustment in Swift's time. Robert Morden (d. 1703) reckoned 180° E. and W. from the meridian of London in the northern hemisphere. In the southern hemisphere he starts from the ' Pike of Teneriff ' and counts E. 360°. In any event the position Swift intended to indicate for Gulliver was, apparently, a point in the Pacific east of Japan and south of the Aleutian Islands.

CHAPTER II

Page 218, line 8. *two or three more Persons.* Faulkner, ' two or more '. Hawkesworth, ' two, three, or more '.

Page 220, line 1. *a Shoulder of Mutton, cut into an Æquilateral Triangle* .... Professor de Morgan (*Notes and Queries*, 2nd Ser. vi. 125) finds it easy to show the absurdity of food served in figures of two dimensions; and suggests that Swift should have been more studious of strict accuracy when satirizing mathematicians. But satire, to be effective, can hardly be imprisoned within strict matter-of-fact.

Page 221, line 16. *a Conjecture of my own.* This satire on philology was directed particularly against Dr. Bentley.

line 30. *happening to mistake a Figure.* Sir Isaac Newton's printer exposed that great scientist to some ridicule by adding a cipher to the calculation of the earth's distance from the sun. Swift probably also had Newton particularly in mind in his general satire upon the absent-mindedness of philosophers and men of science. Newton's report in favour of Wood's halfpence excited Swift's enmity.

Page 222, line 17. *all their Musical Instruments.* See note, Part II, Chap. VI. George I was a great patron of Handel and his opera. Laputa may have been intended to represent England in several characteristics; and apparently Part III was early understood to contain satire on the English Court. See *Verses on the Death of Doctor Swift* (*Poems*, i. 262):

> Or *Libels* yet conceal'd from Sight,
> Against the *Court* to shew his *Spight.*
> Perhaps, his *Travels, Part the Third*;
> A Lye, at ev'ry *second* Word:
> Offensive to a *Loyal* Ear—.

CHAPTER III

Page 235, line 8. *a Catalogue of ten thousand fixed Stars.* This may be a reference to Flamsteed's *British Catalogue* of 2,935 stars, which appeared in the third volume of the *Historia Cœlestis Britannica* (1725), or to earlier and less complete publications of Flamsteed's work.

Page 237, line 20. *the whole Mass would fall to the Ground.* See Appendix II for the story of the successful rebellion of Lindalino, which, if it appeared in the original manuscript, Motte chose to omit. Sir Charles Firth (*op. cit.*, p. 20) finds in that story a possible allegory of the failure of the English Government to force the acceptance of Wood's halfpence upon Ireland. For an account of this transaction see *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Temple Scott, vol. vi, pp. 3–9.

line 22. *the King . . . permitted to leave the Island.* George I constantly left England on visits to Hanover.

CHAPTER IV

Page 240, line 10. *The Continent.* It will be noted that the map shows Balnibarbi as an island.

line 20. *This great Lord, whose name was Munodi.* Sir Charles Firth (*op. cit.*, p. 22) suggests that Swift's original was Viscount Middleton, Lord Chancellor for Ireland, who, though a con-

vinced Whig, gained the Drapier's esteem by his opposition to 'that wicked project' of Wood's halfpence. More probably Bolingbroke, who, on his return from exile, made an elaborate affectation of rural seclusion at Dawley, is intended. In either case there is but little resemblance.

line 27. *People . . . Misery and Want.* In this chapter Swift was probably thinking both of the state of Ireland and of the unhappy consequences of the mania for speculation which seized upon England at this time. The projects described represent the wild schemes of the many bubble companies.

CHAPTER V

Page 247, line 10. *the most Ancient Student of the Academy.* The occupations of the professors in the Academy of Lagado were, in part, suggested by Rabelais, Bk. V, ch. xxii, which describes 'How Queen Whim's Officers were employ'd'. Swift knew his Rabelais well and quoted him readily, as is shown by his writings and letters. The 'most Ancient Student' is a follower of 'an Archasdarpenin, who laid a huge plenty of Chamberlee to putrifie in Horse-dung'.

line 25. *the Malleability of Fire. Ibid.*, 'Others cut Fire into Stakes with a Knife'.

line 28. *beginning at the Roof. Ibid.*, 'Others built Churches to jump over the Steeples'.

Page 248, line 13. *Plowing the Ground with Hogs. Ibid.*, 'Others with three Couples of Foxes in one Yoke, plow'd a Sandy-shoar, and did not lose their Seed'.

line 28. *hung round with Cobwebs.* In 1710 M. Bon, a Frenchman, published an essay on the possibility of deriving silk from spider-webs. Réaumur, who was appointed by the Royal Academy of France to investigate his scheme, reported adversely on the ground of expense, although he admitted the practicability of manufacturing silk by this method. Mr. Ravenscroft Dennis (*op. cit.*, p. 188 n.) draws attention to a more recent attempt to make silk in the same way, described in the *Pall Mall Gazette* for 26 Nov. 1898.

Page 250, line 11. *The Dog died.* 'A young Spodizator' experiments in the like manner on 'a dead Ass' (Rabelais, *ibid.*).

Page 253, line 14. *a Frame.* The idea of machines for the solution of problems has often been propounded—by Raymond Lully among others. In arithmetical calculations, as is well known, the plan is feasible.

Page 255, line 2. *he had employed the whole Vocabulary into his Frame.* Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, ' emptyed '. ' Employed ' occurs in the line above.

Page 256, line 14. *Ancestors.* Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, ' Forefathers '.

CHAPTER VI

Page 261, line 18. *who imagine they come into the World.* Faulkner, ' came '. Hawkesworth here follows Motte's reading.

Page 263, line 1. *a large Paper of Instructions* . . . . The latter part of this chapter ridicules the proceedings against Francis Atterbury (1662–1732), Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster, for high treason. He was one of Queen Anne's appointments, and on the accession of George I he refused to take the oath, hoping for the return of ' King James III ', as he called him. In 1722 he was committed to the Tower for complicity in treasonable conspiracy. That he had been engaged in plotting for the restoration of the Stuarts admits of no doubt, but the evidence which the Government could venture to bring against him was not entirely convincing, and it was decided to try him by process of a Bill of Penalties in the House of Commons. He was later summoned before the House of Lords, condemned, and exiled for the rest of his life. He left England in 1723; and died in Paris in 1732. Public sympathy ran strongly in his favour. Swift and Pope believed him innocent. See Pope's epitaph *On Dr. Francis Atterbury.*

line 7. *take a strict View* . . . . The reference is to the Duke of Wharton's speech on the second reading of the Bill of Attainder, in which he mentioned ' two letters, found in the Bishop's close-stool '.

line 27. *I told him* . . . . See Appendix II for Ford's correction of this and the following paragraph.

Page 264, line 28. *a lame Dog an Invader.* Atterbury received from France the present of a dog, which had its leg broken on the journey. It was mentioned under feigned names in his secret correspondence. See Swift's poem *Upon the Horrid Plot discovered by Harlequin, the Bishop of Rochester's French Dog* (*Poems*, ii. 196).

CHAPTER VII

This chapter was misnumbered 'V' in all Motte's editions; and Faulkner continued the error.

Page 266, line 10. *North-West.* See Introduction, note on 'The Maps'.

line 25. *Maldonada.* See Introduction, note on 'The Maps'.

Page 269, line 16. *ordered me to call up whatever Persons I would chuse to name . . . .* These scenes, as already noted, were probably suggested by Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead*, and also, perhaps, by Rabelais, Bk. II, ch. xxx.

Page 270, line 10. *not a drop of Vinegar in his Camp.* Livy, Bk. XXI, ch. xxxvii, relates that Hannibal removed a rock which obstructed the passage of his army by heating it with fire, and then pouring vinegar upon it, a device which made it soft and easy to cut through.

CHAPTER VIII

Page 272, line 25. *Didymus and Eustathius.* Didymus, born at Alexandria in 63 B.C., lived and taught in Rome. One of the most voluminous commentators of antiquity, his greatest work was a treatise on Homer, some extracts from which have survived. Eustathius of Constantinople, who became Archbishop of Thessalonica in A.D. 1160, composed a valuable commentary on the Homeric poems, consisting largely of extracts from earlier writers.

Page 273, line 3. *Scotus and Ramus.* Duns Scotus, one of the greatest of the medieval schoolmen, entered the Franciscan Order and became a chief critic of the system elaborated by Thomas Aquinas. He died at Cologne in 1308. His works, including a commentary on Aristotle, were published in 1639, in twelve folio volumes. Pierre de la Ramée, or Petrus Ramus (1515–72), a persistent and able critic of Aristotle.

line 8. *Gassendi.* Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655) attacked more especially the physical philosophy of Aristotle in his *Exercitationes paradoxicae adversus Aristoteleos* (1624). He was also an opponent of the new system of philosophy promulgated by Descartes (1596–1650).

line 15. *He predicted the same Fate to Attraction.* An allusion to Newton's doctrine of gravitation.

line 25. *Eliogabalus's Cooks.* Elagabalus, or Heliogabalus,

Emperor of Rome (A.D. 218–22). He is chiefly remembered for his unparalleled gluttony and debauchery.

line 27. *Agesilaus.* King of Sparta (397–360 B.C.).

Page 274, line 9. *For instead of a long train . . . .* Cf. Rabelais, Bk. I, ch. i: 'I think many are at this day Emperours, Kings, Dukes, Princes, and Popes on the earth, whose extraction is from some porters, and pardon-pedlars.'

line 23. *Polydore Virgil.* Polydore Vergil (?1470–?1555), Italian historian, came to England in 1501 as deputy-collector of Peter's pence, and spent a large part of his life in this country. He wrote an admirable Latin *History of England* (1534).

line 32. *Gamesters.* Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, 'Gamesters, Fidlers, Players'.

Page 275, line 30. *Here I discovered the secret Causes.* Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, 'true'. The word 'secret' occurs a few lines earlier.

Page 276, line 3. *and an Admiral . . . betray the Fleet.* Scott suggests that this may be an allusion to Admiral Russell. He won the battle of La Hogue (1692); but his loyalty to William III was not beyond a doubt.

line 6. *Three Kings.* According to Scott, Charles II, James II, and William III.

Page 277, line 20. *Among the rest.* Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, 'Among others'.

Page 278, line 3. *it was given to a Youth.* Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, 'Boy'. The change emphasizes the contrast.

line 4. *the Son of Libertina.* Faulkner, 'a *Libertina*'. Hawkesworth here retains Motte's reading. A freedwoman was *liberta* in relationship to her master, *libertina* in legal relationship to the State. The article marks her out as a member of a class.

line 5. *Returning back to his own Vessels.* Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, 'Vessel'. The singular is correct, for the 'Person' had been 'Commander of a Ship'.

CHAPTER IX

Page 280, line 15. *1711.* This was corrected in Ford's list, and in the 'Book', to '1709'. Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, reads '1708'. Gulliver's movements and dates during the third Voyage are difficult to follow. He sailed from England on 5 August 1706, and arrived at Madras on 11 April 1707. There he stayed three weeks before sailing for Tonquin. Thence, shortly after, he set out in charge of the sloop, and ten days later

was captured by the pirates. On the sixth day after being set adrift by his captors he was received up into the Flying Island. After two months (?) in Laputa he left on 16 February (presumably 1708) for Lagado. On the 21st of the following April he arrived at Luggnagg. He left Luggnagg at the end of three months on ' the Sixth Day of *May* 1709 ' (should be the end of July), arrived at Nagasaki on 9 June, sailed thence, and reached the Downs on 10 April 1710, ' after an absence of Five Years and Six Months compleat '. But, as he left England on 5 August 1706, this cannot be right. It is impossible to reconcile these conflicting statements, and the engraver of the map has added his own errors to the confusion of the narrative.

line 16. *the River Clumegnig which is a Sea-port Town.* Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, ' River of ', which seems to be more correct.

Page 281, line 11. *the Dutch were the only Europeans* .... Following upon the suppression of the Christian rebellion (1637) in Japan the country was closed to all, with the exception of the Chinese and the Dutch.

line 26. *I was invited by several Persons.* The reading of all early editions, except Faulkner's editions of 1759 and 1772, which have ' I was visited '. Desfontaines has ' Plusieurs personnes me rendirent visite ', which seems appropriate to the context.

Page 282, line 22. *care was taken to have it swept so clean.* Faulkner, ' have it so clean '. Hawkesworth, ' have it made so clean '.

CHAPTER X

Page 290, line 29. *this Breed of Struldbruggs was peculiar to their County.* Overlooked by Ford, but corrected to ' Country ' in Motte's third and fourth 8vos.

Page 294, line 18. *the youngest not above two hundred Years old.* An oversight on the part of Swift; but ' youngest ' (which should be ' oldest ') is retained by all editors. After two hundred years the Struldbruggs were unable to understand people of another age, or ' to hold any Conversation '.

line 28. *They are deprived and hated.* ' Deprived ' was first corrected to ' despised ' in Motte's fourth 8vo, although overlooked by Ford. Hyde's Dublin edition of 1726, which was almost certainly set from the first edition, had already, however, made the obvious emendation.

Page 295, line 27. *to arm our People against the Fear of Death.* Hawkesworth (*op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 202 n.) observes : ' Perhaps it

may not be wholly useless to remark, that the sight of a *struldbrug* would no otherwise arm those against the fear of death, who have no hope beyond it, than a man is armed against the fear of breaking his limbs, who jumps out of a window when his house is on fire.'

CHAPTER XI

Page 299, line 17. *trampling upon the Crucifix.* A device employed by the Japanese for the detection of Christian converts. It does not seem, however, to have been imposed on the Dutch.

Page 301, line 3. *On the 16th of April we arrived safe to Amsterdam. . . . On the 10th of April 1710 we put in at the Downs.* Hawkesworth first attempted a correction by transposing these dates. In this he has been followed by later editors. But, as Hubbard (*op. cit.*, p. 74) points out, the two dates are eight lines apart in the first edition, and a transposition by the compositor is a most unlikely error. Nor is so obvious a mistake probable in the original manuscript. The simplest and most natural correction is to alter ' 10th ' to ' 20th ', a change involving only one figure.

line 12. *an absence of Five Years and Six Months compleat.* See note, Chap. IX, above.

PART IV

The Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms is a single and consecutive piece of narrative-writing, and the contrast is emphasized by its immediate sequence upon the least orderly part of Gulliver's story. However long the *Travels*, as a whole, may have lain in Swift's hands, it can hardly be doubted that once he had drawn his plan of this section, and begun to write, he continued till he came to the end. But the ascending scale of bitterness traceable in passing from one Voyage to the next cannot be assumed as an indication that the Parts were completed in the order in which they are placed; or that the despairing contempt of the human species which characterizes Part IV reveals the hastening of that subsidence into utter gloom which was Swift's last portion. The letter to Ford of 19 January 1723/4 (Introduction, p. xxi), to consider the evidence no further here, shows that he ' left the Country of Horses ' to return to Laputa; and there is, after all, nothing in the Voyage to the Houyhnhnms inconsistent with the settled temper of Swift's mind for the greater part of his life. The bitter disillusions of a great, a proud, a lonely and intractable man are here concentrated within a few short chapters.

The animal myth, whereby human traits are illustrated in the commonwealth of beasts, goes back to the earliest days of story-telling. The fables of Aesop are of ancient origin, but in these, and other collections of a similar character, the inferiority of man to the animals is not the ruling motive. This concept is, however, embodied in the dialogue *That Brute Beasts Make Use of Reason*, which is included in Plutarch's *Morals*, a work translated into English during Swift's lifetime, and with which he was acquainted. Giovanni Battista Gelli's *Circe* and Howell's *Parly of the Beasts* (1660), both deriving from Plutarch, illustrate the same thought. Parallels between these and other possible literary sources, and the Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms, are adduced by W. A. Eddy (*op. cit.*, pp. 172–87); but the resemblances are slight and inconclusive. Swift might easily contrast the temperate habits of his horses with the intemperance of man without resource to literary originals. Nor, despite Eddy (*op. cit.*, pp. 63, 64), does he seem to have drawn for his fourth Voyage upon Cyrano de Bergerac's *Histoire comique du soleil* (1657), as he certainly relied upon the same writer's *Histoire comique de la lune* for earlier passages in the *Travels*. No author writing in a sophisticated and literary age can possibly weave his pattern without a trace of borrowed hints. Anything can be proved with some ingenuity. A Dr. Bantley, otherwise possibly Arbuthnot, succeeded in demonstrating, with some touches of excellent humour, in *Critical Remarks on Capt. Gulliver's Travels* (1735), that the Houyhnhnms and their country were well known to classical authors from the most ancient times. But, in the end, the remarkable characteristic of this part of the *Travels* is the striking originality of Swift's handling of an old theme.

Nevertheless, with all his originality, Swift's gift of producing an illusion of reality from the entirely improbable fails him under the strain of trying to exalt his horses above men. The difficulty of believing in horses who build houses, milk cows, make pottery, and thread needles is sufficiently hard to endure, but a less grievous trial than reading constant encomiums of the Houyhnhnms, who are, through no fault of their own, physically, intellectually, perhaps even morally inferior to Gulliver, who is a fairly ordinary representative of mankind. Swift's satire here misses its point, not because of its bitterness, in which he was not wholly unjustified, but because the illogical framework cannot support it.

The correct pronunciation of the word 'Houyhnhnm' is not

a matter of importance; but Swift evidently intended it to represent the 'whinny' of a horse. In his *Account of the Court and Empire of Japan* the word 'Whigs' is represented by the anagram 'Husiges'. As in that word 'hu' is the equivalent of 'wh', so 'hou' may be read in Houyhnhnm. We shall probably, therefore, not be far from his intention if we pronounce 'Whinnim', rather than 'Hoo-in-im' or 'How-nim'. 'Yahoo' may, as Professor Morley suggested, be constructed from the expressions of disgust, 'Yah! Ugh!'

CHAPTER I

Page 311, line 11. *the Adventure.* The vessel in which Gulliver set out for his second voyage bore the same name, Part II, Chap. I.

Page 312, line 5. *Second Day of August, 1710.* If Gulliver arrived in the Downs in April (10th, 16th, or 20th), and 'continued at Home . . . about Five Months', this date cannot be right. Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, reads '7th Day of *September*'.

Page 313, line 19. *letting me put on my best Suit of Cloaths . . . and a small Bundle of Linnen.* Hawkesworth, followed in 1759 by Faulkner, 'and take a small bundle . . . .'

Page 314, line 3. *what I had best to do.* Hawkesworth, 'best do'.

Page 315, line 6. *long lank Hair on their Faces . . . .* See Appendix I.

CHAPTER II

Page 321, line 21. *They seemed but ordinary Cattle.* Faulkner, 'The last seemed . . .'; Hawkesworth, 'These seemed . . .'

Page 322, line 12. *waited to hear . . . but I observed.* Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, '. . . but I heard'. The change is clearly an improvement.

line 27. *I then absolutely concluded . . . nothing else but Necromancy and Magick.* Borkowsky (*op. cit.*) adduces parallels to this and other passages from Cyrano de Bergerac; but the argument from mere resemblance of phrase can easily become a fascinating and quite misleading pursuit. Swift might naturally pen these words without recollection of 'Certes, ma surprise fut si grande que dès lors je m'imaginé que tout le globe de la lune, tout ce qui m'y estoit arrivé, et tout ce que j'y voyois n'estoit qu'enchantement'. (*Les Œuvres libertines de Cyrano de Bergerac*, ed. Frédéric Lachèvre, 1921, i. 39.)

Page 328, line 1. *For we observe no Animal to be fond of it but Man.* Most animals, and not least horses, are fond of salt.

NOTES

CHAPTER III

Page 329, line 20. *The Emperor Charles V. . . .* Charles V is said to have declared that he would address his God in Spanish, his mistress in Italian, and his horse in German.

Page 334, line 10. *the Secret of having a false Covering . . . .* See Appendix I.

CHAPTER IV

Page 337, line 24. *so perfectly well understood.* Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, adds ' and so universally practised '.

Page 340, line 2. *to represent his noble Resentment.* See Introduction, p. lxiii. Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, ' express '.

CHAPTER V

Page 345, line 7. *thrice as many Ships.* Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, ' five Times as many '.

line 17. *Difference in Opinions . . . with many more.* The allusions here to the sacraments of the Church, to church music, to the kissing of images and crucifixes, to the use of vestments, are sufficiently obvious.

Page 346, line 13. *render our Dominions round and compleat.* Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, ' round and compact '.

Page 347, line 1. *There are likewise another Kind of Princes . . . .* See Appendix II. The allusion is to the employment of German mercenaries by George I, a practice which caused great indignation in England. Motte refrained from printing what Swift, in all probability, wrote, for fear of giving offence. Even Faulkner, who used Ford's restitution, refused to print ' Germany and other '.

Page 348, line 24. *for cutting my Hoof.* See Appendix I.

Page 349, line 11. *what I meant by Law . . . .* See Appendixes I and II. Swift's animus against lawyers was to some extent excited by the fact that the legal profession of the time was largely Whig in sympathy.

CHAPTER VI

For Ford's alteration of the contents heading to this chapter, in conformity with the omission of a passage, see Appendix II.

Page 356, line 3. *he went upon a supposition . . . especially those who presided over the rest.* There seems to be some confusion of ideas or expression here. The Abbé Desfontaines boldly alters

the sense: ' si quelques-uns y prétendent un droit plus particulier, ne doit-ce pas être principalement ceux qui par leur travail ont contribué à rendre la terre fertile ? ' See Hubbard (*op. cit.*, p. 91).

Page 360, line 21. *I told him, that our She Governor* . . . . See Appendix II.

Page 364, line 6. *her Neighbours or Acquaintance* . . . . See Appendix II.

CHAPTER VII

Page 365, line 16. *which among us would never be numbered.* Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, ' with us '. ' Among ' occurs again seven words later.

Page 366, line 31. *he looked upon us as a sort of Animals* . . . . Sir Charles Firth (*op. cit.*, pp. 13, 14) notes that Swift distinguishes two kinds of Yahoo, those of Houyhnhnmland, and those of Europe; and discovers in this an allusion to the aboriginal Irish. But it is most improbable that Swift intended a picture of the native Irish, for, throughout Part IV, he is thinking of the widespread debasement of human nature.

Page 371, line 7. *and then fall asleep in the Dirt.* Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, ' Mud '.

line 19. *This I have since often taken myself.* See Appendix I.

CHAPTER VIII

Page 378, line 20. *Having lived three Years in this Country.* Faulkner, ' already lived '. The addition of the word ' already ' is an improvement, for Gulliver's whole stay in the country was about three years and nine months.

Page 381, line 4. *one of the necessary Actions of a Rational Being.* Faulkner, ' in a reasonable Being '. Hawkesworth, ' of a reasonable being '.

CHAPTER IX

Page 387, line 1. *They calculate the Year by the Revolution of the Sun* . . . . Borkowsky (*op. cit.*, p. 352) notes a close parallel in the *Histoire des Sévarambes* (1677–9) by Denis Vairasse d'Alais: ' Les Sévarambes divisent le temps comme nous par années ou révolutions solaires, ils le subdivisent aussi par mois ou révolutions lunaires: car ils ne comptent point par semaines.'

NOTES

CHAPTER X

Page 392, line 5. *I did not find the Treachery* . . . . Faulkner, and Hawkesworth, ' feel ', which is better.

Page 394, line 4. *to understand the Nature of Yahoos in all Countries* . . . . Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, omits ' in all Countries '.

CHAPTER XI

Page 402, line 30. *the South-East Point of New Holland.* Australia. This seems to be a mistake for ' south-west point '.

Page 403, line 3. *Mr. Herman Moll.* A Dutchman. Settled in London about 1698. Published a series of maps and geographical compilations. Died 1732. See *D. N. B.* xxxviii. 128.

Page 405, line 23. *As a Yahoo in Houyhnhnm-land.* Faulkner, and Hawkesworth, ' or a *Yahoo* '.

Page 407, line 7. *my three Years Residence there.* Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, ' five '. At the time of his speaking to Don Pedro Gulliver had been absent from England about four years and five months. He had lived with the Houyhnhnms three years and nine months. Neither text, therefore, is strictly accurate. He reached England again after an absence of five years and three months.

line 26. *began to have a better Opinion of my Veracity* . . . . Faulkner, followed by Hawkesworth, omits the remainder of the sentence: ' and the rather . . . because he then concluded them all to be lies.' Mr. Ravenscroft Dennis also omits from the text of his edition. Ford, however, made no alteration.

Page 410, line 19. *safe to my House at Rotherhith.* Occurs here only in *Gulliver's Travels.* See note, Part I, Chap. VIII. Faulkner reads ' Redriff '. Hawkesworth follows the Motte text.

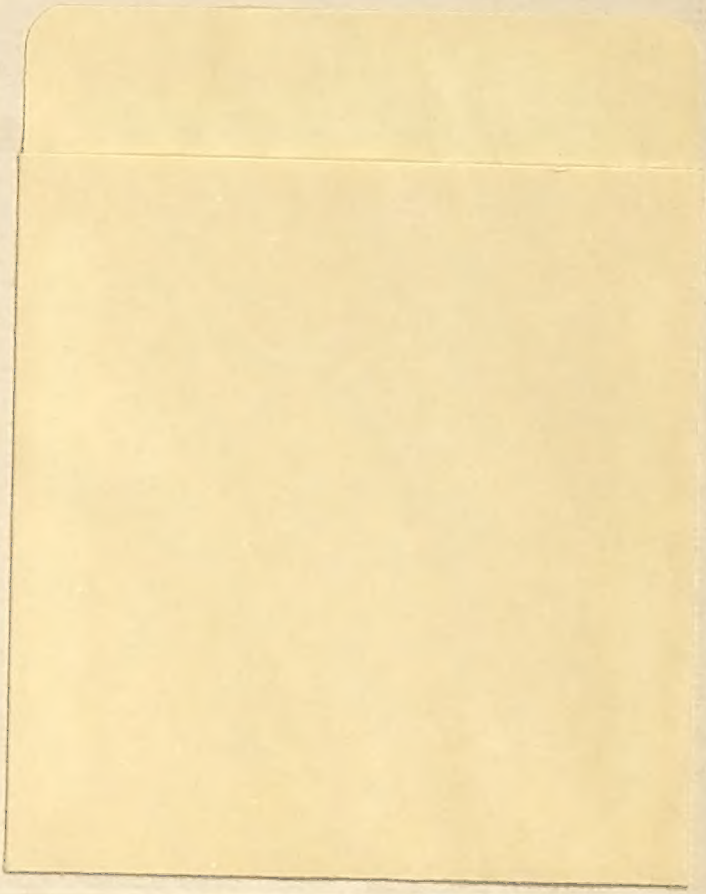
Page 411, line 6. *At the Time I am writing it is Five Years* . . . . See Introduction, p. xvii, and note to page 29, line 20.

CHAPTER XII

Page 418, line 5. *I mean, if the Inhabitants ought to be believed* . . . . Faulkner omits the rest of the paragraph. Hawkesworth (followed by Mr. Ravenscroft Dennis in his edition) adds ' unless a dispute may arise concerning the two *Yahoos* said to have been seen many ages ago upon a mountain in *Houyhnhnm-land* ', but no more. Although Ford passes over the passage without remark, later editors evidently felt the brutal slight upon their countrymen to be intolerable.

Page 419, line 6. *I began last Week to permit my Wife* . . . . In the Introduction (p. 7) to the spurious third volume (1727) of *Gulliver's Travels* Gulliver is made to say: 'I find mention'd in my last page but Two of my second Volume, that I permitted my Wife to sit at Table with me; but I found so little Satisfaction in her Company, that I soon repented my good Nature, for my Aversion daily increased.' This volume, without printer's or publisher's name on the title, contains 'A Second Voyage to Brobdingnag', 'A Voyage to Sporunda', and 'A Voyage to Sevarambia', the last taken from the *Histoire des Sévarambes* of Denis Vairasse d'Alais.

Printed in England at the University Press
Oxford by JOHN JOHNSON Printer to
the University



PR 3724.G7 1926
Gulliver's tr cen
3 0081 001 307 747